

SUKTHANKAR MEMORIAL VOLUME

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V. S. SUKTHANKAR MEMORIAL VOLUME

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EDITED BY

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FOREWORD

The present volume of the Bulletin, which is the fifth of its series, is intended to commemorate the connection of the late Prof. Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR with the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute. He was a member of the College Reorganisation Committee and of the first Council of Management of the Institute; he was also the man who made the publication of the Bulletin even during the first year of the life of the Institute possible. In complying with the request of the Editors to contribute a Foreword to the volume, I may at the very outset, remark that the hopes expressed in the Foreword to the first volume written by my predecessor in office have been largely fulfilled during the last five years, and the Bulletin has now established itself as an important research publication in this country, giving in a short compass the nature and amount of research undertaken by the Institute.

It is not necessary for me here to deal with the scholarly achievements of the late Dr. SUKTHANKAR. These are well known. They have inspired the present volume, as they also inspired much of the research work undertaken by the Institute. The fact that the Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee, organised in Poona, is bringing out a complete edition of all his published writings in two volumes is in itself the best proof of the esteem in which he was held, and also of the universal sense of loss caused by his sudden and unexpected demise to the world of scholarship. That the present volume was conceived and completed within less than a year is an indication of the inspiration and enthusiasm which he had communicated to the staff and students of this Institute; and it is a matter for congratulation that this Institute is the first among the Institutes of its kind to pay its tribute to his work in this concrete form.

carried out by different scholars, in different places, to some extent independently of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, and also to several other studies of minor importance arising out of the critical edition. If he were alive today he would have rejoiced to see a volume like this, one of the many fruits of his colossal work on the great Epic to which he devoted, with a singleness of purpose and with unrivalled mastery, more than seventeen years of his life. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the present volume of studies should be offered as a tribute to the memory of this great scholar, the highest possible tribute that any Institute can offer.

To those connected with the management of the Institute there is still another aspect which appears significant. The principal object of the Institute is the conduct of co-ordinated research projects by the staff and students of the various departments. This Memorial Volume of the Bulletin was planned towards the close of January 1943 and executed within a year, the only condition being that all contributions must have some bearing on the critical edition. That the entire plan should have been co-ordinated and successfully concluded, maintaining the high level of scholarship that was expected from all the members of the staff, in addition to the normal research projects which had already been planned and put into execution, is proof that the work of the Institute is progressing rapidly in the right direction. It is to be hoped that this first co-operative project will bear fruit in wider fields and establish a unique tradition associated with the name of the Institute.

In conclusion I wish to congratulate the contributors on the excellence of their papers, and the Editors of this Volume, Drs. V. M. APTE and H. D. SANKALIA, for the efficient manner in which they have completed their task.

BOMBAY :
3RD NOVEMBER 1943.

B. J. WADIA.

Avant-propos

When on 21st January 1943, Death laid its icy hand on the mortal frame of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, not only did his family suffer a sad bereavement, not only did Research Institutes like the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute in his home province lose 'a guide, philosopher and friend' but Indian scholarship also was shocked by the passing away of a 'Critical Editor' whose labours helped to raise its international status, and the world mourned the disappearance of an Indologist of almost 'Epic' fame. Well might one reproach Remorseless Fate (in the words of the great Kālidāsa): 'In snatching him away, what, indeed, hast thou not robbed us of?'

Karṇṭhō-vimukṣhena mṛtyunā horaṭā tam vada kīm na no hṛtom.

But moping did nobody any good and the tears of the dear ones but injure the preta :

Śvajanaśru kṛtātsāntatam dahati pretam iti pracaḥṣate.

Death should have no sting for the true philosopher whose duty on such occasions is to concentrate his attention on the preservation of the "Famebody" (*yāsaḥ-śarīra*) which Illustrious Ones like SUKTHANKAR leave behind them. It was in this spirit that, at the Condolence Meeting held on 23rd January 1943, the following resolution was placed on record :

The sudden and tragic demise on 21st January 1943 of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR has removed a figure of international reputation from the world of scholars. The loss is almost irreparable and particularly so to India, as it was the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata on which he was engaged for the last 17 years and which he had made his life-work which helped to put India on the map of the scholarly world. He was connected in one capacity or another with several learned Societies, Academies and Research Institutions in Europe, America and India—he was incidentally the second Indian to be elected Honorary Member by the American Oriental Society—but with the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute he was closely connected in more capacities than one, as Member of the Reorganization Committee, Member of the first Council of Management and the Committee of Direction.

At the instance of the Director who moved the above resolution, the undersigned agreed to edit this Volume, which, in the fitness of things should be devoted mainly to Mahābhārata Studies. The reasons for this thematic uniformity should be obvious. It is true that Dr. SUKTHANKAR was a versatile Indologist. He had all the natural gifts and acquired attainments which enabled him to excurse into and dominate many fields of research and he *adorned whatever he touched*. He gave ample evidence, for example, of his special aptitude and training in philology and linguistics which continued to be his favourite subjects until he switched on to the Mahābhārata. His inquiring gaze was also directed to special objectives in the field of palæography, epigraphy, archæology and Sanskrit literature—objectives which he held with a masterly eye. Nevertheless, it must be said that it was a wise Providence that decreed on August 4, 1925, that thereafter his life be dedicated to the organization of that great project of national—nay, international—importance, namely the preparation of a Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, the solid foundations whereof were laid by the publication of the completed Ādiparvan with the Prolegomena, which was hailed by WINTERNITZ in 1934 as ‘the most important event in the history of Sanskrit philology since the publication of MAX MÜLLER’s edition of the R̥gVeda with Sāyaṇa’s Commentary.’ There were certain qualities that pre-eminently fitted him for this great undertaking, such as his passion for the application of scientific methods, his objectivity of approach, critical acumen, attention to details, precision and economy of words, his punctiliousness about the typography and get-up of a book and his fastidiousness about its correct printing and proper appearance generally. It is again significant that he made his *debut* in research in 1914 with a Doctorate dissertation, connected with a Critical Edition of Śaṅkarāyana’s Grammar (I.I) with the Commentary *Cintāmaṇi* and that the Master who initiated him into the science of text-criticism was Prof. HEINRICH LUDERS who declared, with reference to the completed Ādiparvan in 1933, that though the number of his pupils was legion, not one had such brilliant work to his credit. *The Mahābhārata work to which he dedicated the last 17 ripe years of his life may therefore be said to be his life-work*. His single-minded devotion and complete identification with this task can be gauged by the well-known fact that though he lived all these years in Poona, he was almost unknown to the social circles of that city. To conclude, then, his *magnum opus* was his work on the Critical

Edition of the Great Epic, including the series of papers such as Epic Studies, Epic Questions and the like in which he examined in great detail various related problems.

Arrangements have now been made at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute to carry on the work of the Critical Edition where he left it, and we have no doubt that the hope expressed by Dr. SUKTHANKAR in his last public utterance in Poona on 5th January 1943 will be fulfilled. But the title : ' A Three-Dimensional View of the Great Epic ', of the lectures he was delivering before the University of Bombay in the beginning of 1943, and in the midst of which he died, was very significant and shows that the *corpus* of the Mahābhārata was not his only interest though he found very little time for anything else till then, and that he was proposing to take up (in what leisure he could spare) the work of higher text-criticism or the task of interpreting the soul of the Epic also.

It is here that scholars all the world over can step in and continue his good work. It is our earnest hope, therefore, that students of Sanskrit literature, linguisticians, archæologists, historians, sociologists and philosophers will continue to exploit the *firm* material presented by the Critical Edition of the Great Epic with all the greater enthusiasm now, since they are no longer exposed to the risk of having to base their conclusions on the shifting sands of any uncritical and multiple text of the Mahābhārata.

Now to the pleasant task of acknowledging the help rendered in the preparation of this Memorial Volume. The Authorities of the Bhandarkar Institute have laid us under deep obligation by allowing us to include the very valuable article by Professor EDGERTON of Yale University, which was to form part originally of his Introduction to the *Sabhāparvan* critically edited by him. Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR, the present General Editor, deserves our thanks for kindly giving us in advance the printed formes of *Sabhā* for consultation.

Our grateful thanks are due to Mr. B. J. WADIA, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay and the Chairman of our Council of Management, for sparing time from the all-too crowded routine of a strenuous life to write a graceful Foreword, and to Dr. S. M. KATRE, the Director, for facilitating our editorial work in all its stages by his unfailing help and co-operation. The ready response of the various contributors considerably lightened our task and it is to their enthusiasm and hard work that we owe the timely and appropriate publication of the Volume today, the first anniversary of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's death. The burden of our editorial duties was lightened to a great extent by the very willing help rendered from time to time by Dr. Mrs. Iravati KARVÉ and Mr. C. H. SHAIKH, our Readers in Sociology and Semitics respectively. In conclusion it is only fair to add that the Manager of the Government Central Press and his Staff deserve our warmest thanks for enabling us to bring out this Volume punctually in spite of the short time at their disposal, because in this particular case, the time of its publication was as much of the essence as the contents of the Volume.

V. M. APTE

H. D. SANKALIA

21ST JANUARY 1944.

VISHNU SITARAM SUKTHANKAR

AND

HIS CONTRIBUTION TO INDOLOGY

Very little is on record regarding the life of Vishnu Sitaram SUKTHANKAR. The present essay perhaps anticipates a little the detailed and critical literary biography promised to us by the Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee along with a complete reissue of all his published writings; ¹ but in this labour of love the writer has to depend almost entirely on the published work of SUKTHANKAR and some of the unpublished material which he had the good fortune of being shown both by SUKTHANKAR and his heirs later.²

Any visitor to the Mahābhārata Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona will be as much impressed by the two handsome bound volumes containing all the published reviews in English, French, German and Italian, and a number of Indian languages as well, of SUKTHANKAR's great work on the critical edition, as by the silent but efficient work of the department which SUKTHANKAR organised during the very first year when he assumed charge of the General Editorship of this colossal undertaking. But these reviews and notices touch only one side of his deep and extensive scholarship: the final phase, as it were, of a continuous life of scholarship and active research. This final phase of more than seventeen years of single-minded devotion and whole-hearted dedication to the cause of the Great Epic was a fitting conclusion to a full life given over entirely to Indological research.

We must be thankful to an old custom in the German Universities for a brief account of SUKTHANKAR's early life. This custom requires every candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to append to his thesis

¹ Cf. the Appeal issued by this Committee.

² The writer would like to express here his thanks to Mrs. Malinibai SUKTHANKAR and the two sons of Dr. SUKTHANKAR for the facilities given to him to examine SUKTHANKAR's *Nachlasse*. He is also indebted to Professors P. K. GODE and D. D. KOSAMBI for the help they have given him in supplying their own copies of SUKTHANKAR's inscribed reprints for reference.

his *Lebenslauf*, a short account of himself up to the period of submitting his dissertation. According to his own statement contained in his *Lebenslauf*,³ SUKTHANKAR was born on 4th May 1887 in Bombay as son of Engineer Sitaram Vishnu SUKTHANKAR and his wife Dhaklibai; he studied up to high-school standard in Bombay and proceeded to the University of Cambridge where he took up the study of Mathematics, and in 1906 obtained the B.A. degree of this University. In the summer of 1911 he went to Berlin and applied himself principally to the study of Indian Philology. Here he attended the lectures of Professors BECKH, ERDMANN, IMMELMANN, ED. LEHMANN, LOESCHKE, LÜDERS, MARQUART, MITTWOCH, RIEHL, E. SCHMIDT, W. SCHULZE, THOMAS, v. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF and WOLFFLIN. For his main subject, Indian Philology, he was under the guidance of Professor LÜDERS, and under him he prepared a critical edition of Śākaṭāyana's Grammar (Adhyāya 1, pāda 1) with the commentary of Yaśavarman entitled *Cintāmaṇi*, accompanied by German translation and notes, and submitted on 18th June 1914. The dissertation was, however, printed in 1921 and published on 21st May 1921.

Some further details are available from a *Synopsis of Career* which SUKTHANKAR himself prepared and printed in August 1924. Under personal details he says that he was the grandson of the late Mr. Shantaram Narayan, Government Pleader, and that he belonged to the Gauḍa Śārasvat Brahmin caste. The family of SUKTHANKAR appears to have settled down in Bombay for several generations, with land interests. He studied at St. Xavier's College, Bombay, during 1902-3; at St. John's College, Cambridge, during 1903-7; at Edinburgh University in 1909 and finally at Berlin University during 1910-14. He secured the M.A. degree of Cambridge in 1912 with the Mathematical Tripos (in 1906) and the Ph.D. of Berlin in 1914 in Philology and Philosophy. During the next two years he was a Government Research Scholar in the Archaeological Survey Department of the Government of India, and was serving as Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle for four years (1915-19). In addition he was the joint-Editor to the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute during the first two years of its life (1919-20), a Lecturer at the Annual Convention of the American Oriental Society, 1920; Travelling Lecturer at different

³ *The Grammatik Śākaṭāyana's*, p. 91.

University centres in the United States of America, 1920-21 ; a Member of Gray's Inn, London, and of the American Oriental Society.¹ When the new series of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* was inaugurated, SUKTHANKAR took charge of it as its Chief Editor, and to him is due the beautiful appearance of the journal and the uniformly high standard that it has maintained during all this time. This, in brief, is all that we can know of SUKTHANKAR from his public activities up to 1924.

It was about this time that the Mahābhārata Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona needed reorganisation and a competent General Editor to take charge of the work in all its aspects. The preliminary work which resulted in the publication of the Tentative Edition of the *Virāṭaparvan* by Mr. N. B. UTGIKAR had been circulated among competent scholars and elicited a number of concrete suggestions which necessitated the reorganisation of the department as a whole. It is at this juncture that SUKTHANKAR first comes into the scheme, although in various other capacities during his earlier stay in Poona he had been actively connected with this Institute and its research activities. He took charge of his office as General Editor on 4th August 1925, and for the next seventeen years devoted himself entirely to the cause of the Great Epic which he made his own. Thereafter his contributions to other aspects of Indic studies are overshadowed by his *magnum opus*, the Critical Edition of the Great Epic and the Prolegomena with Epic Studies.

The first paper which SUKTHANKAR contributed seriously to Indology was during his Berlin days, entitled 'Miscellaneous Notes on Mammata's *Kāvya-prakāśa*.'⁵ This paper, published in 1912, already bears the stamp of scholarship which marked all his characteristic contributions at a later date. The style, the directness of approach and the economy of words in expressing himself, are all there. The first part of this paper discusses in detail the problem of the double authorship of *Kāvya-prakāśa*. By a comparison of the *Kāvya-lamkāra* with, on the

⁴ SUKTHANKAR was elected an Honorary Member of this Society in 1938, in recognition of his great work on the Mahābhārata, and became the first Indian scholar after Sir Ramkrishna Gopal BHANDARKAR to receive this honour.

⁵ *ZDMG* (1912) 66.477-90 ; 533-43.

one hand, the part of *KP* attributed to Mammaṭa and on the other, that attributed to Allāṭa, he sets the matter beyond the pale of doubt. It is demonstrated that while the author of the latter end of *KP* depends for his whole material practically on *KL* and does not hesitate to borrow phrases and expressions *verbatim* from the latter, Mammata himself makes use reservedly of the new ideas brought into *Alaṃkāraśāstra* by Rudraṭa and looks for his authorities amongst writers older than Rudraṭa. In the second part⁶ SUKTHANKAR points out that a portion of the *Vṛtti* to the definition of the *Alaṃkāra Samuccaya*, in *KP*, does not originate from either Mammaṭa or Allāṭa, and that it must be regarded as a later interpolation. A third section⁷ deals with the practice of quoting names merely *honoris causa*, as common among the grammarians such as Jainendra and Śākaṭāyana, paralleled by the facts which centre round the verse no. 860 in the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. It is pointed out that the mention of the names Udbhaṭa and Bhāmaha by the commentators on this verse is merely *pūjārtham*.

The scientific training which SUKTHANKAR received at Cambridge while preparing himself for the Mathematical Tripos, stood him in good stead during his Berlin days. Although he took up Indian Philology and Philosophy as his main branch of study, this Mathematical training prepared him for a scientific outlook on matters literary or historical, and there was no study or investigation which he considered was low enough for a scholar if it led to proper utilisation of the material available. Thus we find him, in 1914, preparing a very detailed Index to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal BHANDARKAR's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*.⁸ The preparation of an index of this type involves considerable labour and a deep understanding on the part of the indexer especially when he is separated from the author of the work indexed by nearly 6000 miles. This is exactly what happened in the case of this particular index, and the training involved in its preparation must have been an education to SUKTHANKAR under the direct supervision of Prof. LUDERS.

⁶ *Ibid* 533-41.

⁷ *Ibid* 541-43.

⁸ Published in the *Grundriss der Indoirischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* in 1914.

There is now a gap of three years before SUKTHANKAR once again comes in with further contributions. This was evidently the period when he was attached to the Archaeological Survey of India as a Government of India scholar, and was gathering varied experience, particularly in Epigraphy. The newly discovered Asokan Edict of Maski was being entrusted to Rao Sahib H. Krishna SASTRI, officiating Government Epigraphist to the Government of India for editing towards the second half of 1915. At this time SUKTHANKAR was studying South-Indian Epigraphy and Palæography in the office of the Government Epigraphist and it is not unlikely that much of the work in connection with the Maski Edict was actually done by SUKTHANKAR. For he had received his training in this branch under LUDERS, one of the most resourceful scholars in Europe who was equally at home with such difficult epigraphs or fragmentary Mss. as with printed texts. The help which the Rao Sahib received from SUKTHANKAR in his editorial work is acknowledged by him in the following words: 'The following text, translation and notes have been prepared by me with the co-operation of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., Ph. D., a Government of India Research Scholar, who is studying South-Indian Epigraphy in my office.'⁹

During this period there are two Progress Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, from the pen of SUKTHANKAR, respectively for 1916-17 and 1917-18. His first tour of exploration took him about two months round the Sirohi State¹⁰ where, in addition to the surveying of historical monuments, he filled up the lacunæ in the collection of the inscriptions of the Paramāras of Ābu, most of which were located within this State. With the material collected during this tour, in addition to what was already on record in the office of the Western Circle, it was thought possible to reconstruct a skeleton of the history of this family of Rajput chiefs from the middle of the eleventh century to about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. SUKTHANKAR had projected a separate study of this interesting period on the basis of these records for the Director-General's *Annual of Archaeology*, but other and more important work must have prevented the fulfilment of this project. This exploration covered the sites at Or with a Vishnu and Jain temples ;

⁹ *The New Asokan Edict of Maski* (—Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 1), 1915, p. 3.

¹⁰ *Prog. Report of A. S. I., Western Circle, 1916-17, part IV, pp. 59-72.*

Girvar where a Śiva Liṅga and pedestal had been unearthed : Datāni believed to be the scene of the battle fought in V. 1640 between Mahārāo Surtān of Sirohi and Emperor Akbar, in which the former was victorious ; Makāval with a pillar inscription of the Paramāra Dhārāvārṣa, dated V. 1276, Śrāvana-sudi 3 Monday ; Nitorā with, among other temples, a shrine of Śūrya and a temple of Pārśvanātha ; and a number of other interesting places.

The second Report for 1917-18 mostly deals with Epigraphy and Numismatics. The chief interest lies around the Hindu and Buddhist Inscriptions, including the two sets of copper-plates of the Kadamba Kings Ravivarman and Krishnavarman ; two Caulukya Plates referring to the reign of the Caulukya Kārṇa, dated respectively Śaka 996 and Vikrama 1131 ; two Valabhi Plates dated Samvat 210 and issued by order of the Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Dhruvasena I, the Maitraka King of Valabhi. One of the most interesting of epigraphs dealt with at this time are the inscriptions at Dhar known as Sarpabandha, engraved on the pillars of an old grammar school called the Bhoja Śālā at Dhar. One of the inscriptions is a chart of the Sanskrit alphabet and other of verbal terminations. This latter is taken from a chapter of the Kātantra. These epigraphs are dated ca. 1150 A.D. on the strength of the names. Paramāra Naravarman and Udayāditya of Malva. Another important discovery was the Sanchi inscription of the time of Svāmi Jivādāman which provides a date and location for Svāmi-Jivādāman, the father of the founder of the third Dynasty of Satraps in Surāṣṭra who was up till then known only through the coins of his son Svāmi-Rudrasimha II.

In the *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*¹¹ appears a short paper by SUKTHANKAR entitled "Palaeographic Notes". In this paper SUKTHANKAR's knowledge of Indian palaeography is exhibited with the same careful precision which always characterised similar studies of LÜDERS. The main object of investigation was to find out the exact period at which 'Acute-angled' or 'Nail-headed' alphabet of Northern India was supplanted by the rival Northern Nāgarī. It was clear that up to the beginning of the eighth century (A.D. 708 : the Multāi plates) the acute-angled alphabet was still current in Northern India ; on the other hand the Kanheri inscriptions (A.D. 851 and 877) unmistakably show the use of the

¹¹ Pp. 309-22

Nāgarī alphabet for epigraphical purposes. The balance of evidence, as SUKTHANKAR points out, leads strongly to the conclusion that the Sāmāngaḍ grant is spurious, and that the first employment of the Nāgarī is to be found in the Kanheri inscriptions, in direct opposition to the earlier view, expressed by BUHLER¹² who was inclined to suppose that the Northern Nāgarī was in use at least since the beginning of the eighth century. The evidence used by BUHLER consisted of the Sāmāngaḍ grant of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Dantidurga bearing a date corresponding to A.D. 754, from Western India; the Dighvā-Dubaulī plate of Mahendrapāla I and the Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of Vināyakapāla (of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty) believed by BUHLER to be dated in the years corresponding to A.D. 761 and 794-5 respectively. A detailed consideration, however, points out that these two records are to be expunged from their place at the end of Plate IV of BUHLER's Tables, and with this the entire block of evidence in support of the supposition for the use of Nāgarī forms for epigraphs since the beginning of the eighth century disappears. By proving that the other plank of this theory, the Sāmāngaḍ grant, to be spurious, SUKTHANKAR established that the epoch for the use of Nāgarī in epigraphic documents should be taken forward by at least a hundred years. Incidentally he corrected also BUHLER's mislection of the date of the Vināyakapāla plate to A.D. 931. In this way the difficulty created by BUHLER's assumption for the use of the Nāgarī as epigraphic alphabet since the eighth century A.D., leaving the whole of the ninth century as heretofore of any epigraphs in this script, is corrected.

SUKTHANKAR, as a critical reviewer, appears for the first time in two reviews published in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1917. The first review is on Prof. K. B. PATHAK's edition of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (as embodied in the *Parvābhūdaya*)¹³ with the commentary of Mallinātha, etc. in its revised form, published in 1916. It was characteristic of SUKTHANKAR to be almost punctilious about the typography and general get-up of a book even in these early days, and it is no wonder to one acquainted with his insistence on the proper appearance of a printed book that the second paragraph of this review deals at length with the bad printing of this volume. His criticism of Prof. PATHAK's arguments regarding the date of Kālidāsa is couched in a language which is almost a precursor to the

¹² *Indische Palaeographie* p. 51.

¹³ *IA* 46. 79-80.

Girvar where a Śiva Liṅga and pedestal had been unearthed : Datāni believed to be the scene of the battle fought in V. 1640 between Maḥārāo Surtān of Sirohī and Emperor Akbar, in which the former was victorious ; Makāval with a pillar inscription of the Paramāra Dhārāvārsa, dated V. 1276, Śrāvaṇa-sudi 3 Monday ; Nitorā with, among other temples, a shrine of Śūrya and a temple of Pārśvanātha ; and a number of other interesting places.

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In the *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*¹¹ appears a short paper by SUKTHANKAR entitled "Palæographic Notes". In this paper SUKTHANKAR's knowledge of Indian palæography is exhibited with the same careful precision which always characterised similar studies of LÜDERS. The main object of investigation was to find out the exact period at which 'Acute-angled' or 'Nail-headed' alphabet of Northern India was supplanted by the rival Northern Nāgarī. It was clear that up to the beginning of the eighth century (A.D. 708 : the Multāi plates) the acute-angled alphabet was still current in Northern India ; on the other hand the Kaṇheri inscriptions (A.D. 851 and 877) unmistakably show the use of the

¹¹ Pp. 309-22

Nāgarī alphabet for epigraphical purposes. The balance of evidence, as SUKTHANKAR points out, leads strongly to the conclusion that the Sāmāngaḍ grant is spurious, and that the first employment of the Nāgarī is to be found in the Kaṇherī inscriptions, in direct opposition to the earlier view, expressed by BÜHLER¹² who was inclined to suppose that the Northern Nāgarī was in use at least since the beginning of the eighth century. The evidence used by BÜHLER consisted of the Sāmāngaḍ grant of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Dantidurga bearing a date corresponding to A.D. 754, from Western India; the Dighvā-Dubauli plate of Mahendrapāla I and the Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of Vināyakapāla (of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty) believed by BÜHLER to be dated in the years corresponding to A.D. 761 and 794-5 respectively. A detailed consideration, however, points out that these two records are to be expunged from their place at the end of Plate IV of BÜHLER's Tables, and with this the entire block of evidence in support of the supposition for the use of Nāgarī forms for epigraphs since the beginning of the eighth century disappears. By proving that the other plank of this theory, the Sāmāngaḍ grant, to be spurious, SUKTHANKAR established that the epoch for the use of Nāgarī in epigraphic documents should be taken forward by at least a hundred years. Incidentally he corrected also BÜHLER's mislection of the date of the Vināyakapāla plate to A.D. 931. In this way the difficulty created by BÜHLER's assumption for the use of the Nāgarī as epigraphic alphabet since the eighth century A.D., leaving the whole of the ninth century as heretofore of any epigraphs in this script, is corrected.

SUKTHANKAR, as a critical reviewer, appears for the first time in two reviews published in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1917. The first review is on Prof. K. B. PATHAK's edition of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (as embodied in the *Pārsvābhyudaya*)¹³ with the commentary of Mallinātha, etc. in its revised form, published in 1916. It was characteristic of SUKTHANKAR to be almost punctilious about the typography and general get-up of a book even in these early days, and it is no wonder to one acquainted with his insistence on the proper appearance of a printed book that the second paragraph of this review deals at length with the bad printing of this volume. His criticism of Prof. PATHAK's arguments regarding the date of Kālidāsa is couched in a language which is almost a precursor to the

¹² *Indische Palaeographie* p. 51.

¹³ *IA* 46, 79-80.

style which he adopted in the famous *Prolegomena*, published 16 years later. One remark is significant : ' for it must be remembered that even the author of the *Pārsōābhyaṣya* is separated by at least two centuries from the time of Kālidāsa,—a period which is long enough in India to engender interpolations. Each work represents the version locally current at the particular epoch to which the commentator belongs. And neither in one case the seclusion of the Kāśmīr Valley, nor in the other, the proximity to the poet by—admitting Prof. PATHAK's estimation to be correct—three centuries, is a sufficient guarantee to the entire purity of the respective texts.' Readers of the *Prolegomena* may recollect the force of these arguments with reference to the classification of the different classes of the *Mahābhārata* manuscripts.

The second critical review is of Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR's *Mandlik Gold Medal Essay*¹⁴ entitled 'An Account of the different existing systems of Sanskrit Grammar,' now known as *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* in brief. This short book of 148 pages was published in 1915, and the review appears in the May 1917 issue of the *Indian Antiquary*. This is a model review : the introductory part deals objectively with what the author has actually to say in the book. The latter part of the review is strictly critical, pointing out the deficiencies of the book. Some of the sentences are characteristic of SUKTHANKAR at his best : 'It (= the book) should be indispensable to any one who intends writing a more comprehensive work, discussing in extenso, the many controversial points which are either only lightly touched upon by Dr. BELVALKAR or not noticed at all.' Similarly in discussing Dr. BELVALKAR's treatment of the relationship between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana he refers to the obvious overlooking by the author of KIELHORN's brochure on the same subject published forty years earlier (Bombay 1876). In these and other remarks there is not the least trace of that heavy-weight authority which is characteristic of uninformed critics whose prolonged experience and long possession of a scientific reputation is, however, counteracted by superficial observations regarding the work of others. SUKTHANKAR never posed as an authority in any subject and did not assume that attitude of superiority which is a mark of lesser lights. In all his dealings he was straight-forward, and especially in scholarly matters his attitude was purely impersonal. It is on this account that his pronouncements on any work, even when he pleaded ignorance of the subject, are valuable in themselves.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 46, 106-8.

During 1918 SUKTHANKAR published his translation of JACOBI's paper on the Authenticity of the Kautīliya in the *Indian Antiquary*.¹⁵ This is perhaps one of the two occasions when he attempted to translate into English, for the benefit of Indian scholars, some of the foreign contributions. But any one acquainted with his style can see that the work is not a mere translation and that the translator has taken the trouble to present it in good English which has always given a personal charm to his writings.

The first epigraphs to be edited by SUKTHANKAR (other than the Maaki edicts of Aśoka) are published in 1919. The new Inscription of Siripulumāvi,¹⁶ a Prakrit record inscribed on a rock, firmly buried in the soil, lying midway between the villages Myākadoni and Chinnakaḍaburu in the Ādōnī Tālukā of the Bellari District, Madras Presidency, was edited by SUKTHANKAR as No. 9 for 1919 in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The importance of this epigraph lies in the site of the inscribed rock, fixing definitely a point south of the Krishna to which the sway of the Śātavāhanas extended. The other published as No. 4 for 1919 in *EI* is the Poṛumāmilla Tank Inscription of Bhāskara Bhavadura¹⁷⁻¹⁸ (Śaka 1291, the exact tithi being on Monday, the 15th October, 1369 A.D.) is a long record of 127 lines inscribed on two slabs, set up in front of the ruined Bhairava temple. This inscription is interesting on account of the many obscure, technical terms which still need elucidation.

The beginning a new interest is proved by SUKTHANKAR's notice of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta* edited by R. Ganapati ŚASTRI of Trivandrum. This notice, published in *QJMS* for 1919, is the precursor of a long series of papers by SUKTHANKAR during the following five years. This short notice illustrates very clearly his special leanings towards textual criticism as an acute philologist with mathematical training. This particular training is clear in the use of the words 'assumption, argument, proof,' etc.; and according to his findings *Cārudatta* is a fragmentary play.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 47, 157-61; 187-95.

¹⁶ *EI* 14, 153-5.

¹⁷⁻¹⁸ *Ibid.* 14, 97-109.

The year 1920 is one of the most fruitful in SUKTHANKAR's career as an Indologist. There are altogether seven papers published during this year, two of which are contributed to the first volume of the newly founded *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* in Poona. The first of these two papers,¹⁹ entitled 'On the Home of the so-called Āndhra Kings' is a result of his study of the Myakadoni Inscription of Śīri-Pulumāvi referred to above. As a result of unscientific speculation the comparison of epigraphic and numismatic data with those recorded in the Purāṇas (the critical editing of which texts is still a desideratum) the Śātavāhanas were connected with the Andhra dynasty and placed before the public as an authentic account of the fortunes of the family. SUKTHANKAR penetrates skilfully through this morass of facts and points out that at the bottom of this fiction there is only constructive historical imagination which has been misled by the Purāṇic account, and that this account itself is of such a mixed character with its *varia lectiones* that it would be futile to arrive at a reliable and in every way a satisfactory text. Considering the find-places of the inscriptions of this dynasty it is found that the following distribution is noticed: Nanaghat, Nasik, Bhelsa, Kanheri, Karle, Myakadoni, Amaravati, Cina (Krishna Dist.) and Kodavolu. The earliest inscriptions are all from Western India and it is not until the time of Vāsisthiputra-Śīri-Pulumāvi that we meet with an inscription of any king of this dynasty from the Āndhradeśa. Moreover the expression *Satavahanihara*—which reminds one of the expression *Satahani-raṭṭha* of the Hira-Haḍagalli copper-plate grant—appears to indicate that the tribe to which this line of kings belonged must be regarded as autochthons of the inland province so named, which has not yet been identified with certainty but which lay, probably, considerably, to the west of the Āndhra country. A consideration of the dates of the inscriptions and their sites indicates that the Śātavāhanas had first made themselves masters of the northern portion of the western Ghats, and even subdued some part of Mālava, before turning their attention to the conquest of the Āndhradeśa. This epigraphic evidence is remarkably borne out by numismatic evidence and the earliest coins are found in Western India. SUKTHANKAR's discussion of the views of RAPSON and Vincent SMITH is masterly and trenchant. All the evidence marshalled points to the south-western parts of the Deccan plateau as the possible home of this interesting dynasty.

¹⁹ *Annals BORI* 1.21.-42.

The second paper contributed to the *Annals* is on the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros.²⁰ Discovered providentially by Sir John MARSHALL, this little Prakrit record has engaged the attention of a number of distinguished scholars in Indian history, and a scholarly edition of the inscription by J. P. H. VOGEL was published in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1908-09. But in all these studies the historical interest centring round the name of the Graeco-Indian king Antialkidas and the conversion of a Greek Ambassador in India to the cult of Vāsudeva preponderates over every other interest so that the language and textual criticism of the inscription has become the chief theme of investigation by SUKTHANKAR in this paper. One important point is clearly established by SUKTHANKAR: that the writer of the inscription must have been a Greek who rendered word for word the original Greek model into the corresponding Prakrit, and that this Greek might conceivably be Heliodoros. The anomalies of Prakrit construction become clear when Greek syntax is invoked to our aid. This is particularly important both for Old and Middle Indo-Aryan syntax, for an analysis on this line of doubtful constructions might ultimately lead us to the unravelling of the substrata which have affected the growth of Indo-Aryan in its long history.

The short note on an Assyrian tablet²¹ found in Bombay is in reality an announcement of a unique discovery in Bombay, with the readings and English rendering by Dr. C. E. KEISER. Similarly the short review of LÜDERS' *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*²² is a timely notice bringing out the importance of this work for several branches of Indian philology, and in particular to Indian palaeography and Middle Indian dialectology, as also to the theory of Indian dramaturgy.

Curiosities of Hindu Epigraphy is the title of one of the least known of SUKTHANKAR's papers. It appeared in the *Asian Review* for October-December 1920,²³ the only English monthly journal published in Japan. It is a popular paper which brings out the characteristics peculiar to Indian epigraphs; in his wide survey he includes the famous Piprāwā Relic Inscription, the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros, the Armenian Memorial Stone epitaph near the city of Madras (ca. 1663 A.D. corresponding to the year 1112 of the Armenian patriarch Moses) in the

²⁰ *Ibid.* 1. 59-66.

²¹ *JAOS* 40-142-4.

²² *Modern Review*, July 1920, p. 37.

²³ Pp. 725-7; 857-60.

Armenian language and script; a Syrian inscription in a small church at Travancore besides Pahlavi records. Similarly he refers to discoveries including the fragment of an Aramaic inscription exhumed on the site of the ancient city of Taxila from the debris of a house of the 1st century B.C. No reference to epigraphic curiosities could be complete without a mention of the monumental slabs from Central India on which lengthy poems and dramas were engraved by royal patrons of literature and the fine arts. In the brief compass of a short general article SUKTHANKAR has touched upon the many-sided nature of Indian epigraphs, and includes reference to the rare inscription, perhaps the only one of its kind in the world, written in characters of the seventh century, engraved on a massive block, consisting of the text of notes of seven typical modes of Hindu Music arranged for the Indian lute.

The interest which SUKTHANKAR had evinced a little earlier in noticing the edition of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*, bears fruit now, in the year 1920 and initiates his series of STUDIES IN BHASA of which altogether seven were published. The Introduction to this series²⁴ is remarkable for the breadth of vision and the catholicity of approach which SUKTHANKAR exhibits and which becomes hereafter the hall-mark of everything that he writes. The first series deals with certain archaisms in the Prakrit of the dramas ascribed to Bhāsa and published in the Trivendrum Sanskrit Series. These archaisms are tabulated as under: 1. *amhāam* (< Sk. *asmākam*) in opposition to later *amhāpam*, the form *amhā(h)am* being reminiscent of Pāli *amhākam* and Āśvaghoṣa's *tum(h)āk(ān)*; 2. The root *arh-* in the forms *arhā* and *arhādi* are reminiscent of Āśvaghoṣa's *arhessi*; 3. *ahaḥa* (< Sk. *aham*); 4. *āma*; 5. *Karia* (< Sk. *kṛtva*) as compared with Śaurasenī *kaḍua*; 6. *ḥissa*, *ḥiśsa* (< Sk. *ḥasya*); 7. *ḥhu* (< Sk. *ḥhalu*); 8. *tava* (< Sk. *tava*); 9. *tavam* (< Sk. *tvam*); 10. *dissa*, *diśsa-* (< Sk. *drśya-*) and 11. *vaam* (< Sk. *vayam*). A consideration of these eleven archaisms which are found side by side, in some cases, with later or more modern forms, shows its affinities to Āśvaghoṣa's Prakrit, and goes to prove that below the accretion of ignorant mistakes and unauthorised corrections for which successive generations of scribes and diasqueasts should be held responsible, there lies in these dramas a solid bedrock of archaic Prakrit, which is much older than any we know from the dramas of the so-called classical period of Sanskrit literature.

²⁴ JAOS 40, 248.

In the following year the second series of Studies in Bhāsa was published dealing with the versification of the metrical portions of these dramas.²⁵ In this study he has intensively pursued certain characteristics of the versification of the metrical portions which seemingly distinguish them from those of the works of the classical period, and which, moreover, appear to suggest points of contact with the epic literature. It also embraces a study of metrical solecisms of Sanskrit passages, with the intention of ascertaining their exact number and of discussing their nature. The analysis of the metres shows the employment of the Śloka, Vasantatilaka, Upajāti, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Mālinī, Puspitāgrā, Vamsastha, Śālinī, Śikhariṇī, Praharsinī, Aryā, Sragdharā, Hariṇī, Vaiśvadevi, Suvaṇḍanā, Upagīti, Daṇḍaka and abbreviated Daṇḍaka, Drutavilambita, Pṛthvī, Bhujangaprayāta, Vaitāliya, the last seven of which occur but once; the order given is according to the descending order of their frequency totals in the entire group of plays. A comparison of these with STENZLER's tables²⁶ shows that with the exception of the so-called abbreviated Daṇḍaka of twenty-four syllables and an undetermined Prakrit metre, the metres of these dramas are those of the classical poetry. The frequency table for the first four metres enumerated above gives 436 for the Śloka, 179 for the Vasantatilaka, 121 for the Upajāti and 92 for the Śārdūlavikrīḍita in a grand total of 1092 verses. This fact shows the general preponderance of the Śloka to all the rest, to the extent of more than thirty-nine or very nearly forty per cent. of the total. It is found that Bhavabhūti is the only classical dramatist who employs the Śloka frequently with the percentage represented by 129:385 for *Mahāvīracarita* and 89:253 for the *Uttararāmacarita* and 14:224 in the *Mālatīmādhava*. A comparison of these results with those determined for other classical dramatists makes abundantly clear that the preference for Ślokas is a feature of the metrical technique of these plays, in which they differ from the dramas of the classical age. The list of solecisms so far as the Sanskrit metre is concerned includes two cases of irregular sandhi, twelve of change of voice, two of change of conjugation, one each of irregular feminine participle and of irregular absolute, two of simplex for the causative, three of irregular compounds, one of an irregular syntactical combination and several anomalous formations. All these investigations tend to prove that the Sanskrit of the verses included in the Bhāsa

²⁵ *Ibid* 41. 107-30.

²⁶ *ZDMG* 44.1— edited by KISHINAN.

dramas differ in certain minute particulars from the Sanskrit of the classical drama, and reflects a stage of literary development preceding the classical drama which culminates in the works of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. This conclusion is parallel to the one already arrived at by consideration of the Prakrit archaisms contained in the plays,

During 1921 SUKTHANKAR also published Three Kṣatrapa Inscriptions in collaboration with R. D. BANERJĪ as No. 17 in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. XVI)²⁷. These inscriptions are exhibited in the Watson Museum of Antiquities at Rājkot, and though they had been published before, the joint editors re-edited them in order to have them properly illustrated and to render them more easily accessible. The first is the Gundā Inscription of the time of Kṣatrapa Rudrasīmha (: the year 103), ca. 181 A.D.; the object of the inscription is to record the digging and constructing, at the village of Rasopadra, of a well by the senāpati Rudrabhūti, son of the senāpati Bāpaka, the Ābhīra. The second is the Gadhā (Jasdan) Inscription of the time of the Mahā-Kṣatrapa Rudrasena (: the year 127-126), ca. 204-5 A.D. The third is the Junāgadī Inscription of the time of the grandson of the Kṣatrapa Jayadāman. One word is extremely interesting in the second of these three inscriptions : *Śatra* on which some comment has been offered by the editors in a footnote, but no satisfactory explanation could be arrived at, although the meaning assigned by BANERJĪ is, to our mind, the nearest approach to the true state of affairs.

No. 19 in the same volume of *Epigraphia Indica* is an edition of two Kadamba Grants²⁸ from Sirsi by SUKTHANKAR. The first copper-plate grant is that of Ravivarman (the [3] 5th year) and the second of Kṛṣṇavarman II (the 19th year). The chief claim to our attention lies in the regnal years in which they are dated.

Before we turn to SUKTHANKAR's dissertation published in this year there is a short review of E. R. HAVELL's *Handbook of Indian Art* which must draw our attention.²⁹ While he is in general agreement with the

²⁷ *EI* 16. 233-41.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 16. 264-72.

²⁹ *The Freeman*, 7 December 1921, pp. 308-10.

main thesis of Mr. HAVELL, there are many matters of detail and of interpretation where he would differ from him. The following lines are suggestive :

'To Mr. HAVELL and the critics of his school, all Indian art is the product of some sort of subjective emanation informed with spirituality and religiosity. When Mr. HAVELL says, for instance, that 'the pleasure-gardens of the Mohammedan dynasties had the religious character which runs through all Indian art,' he overshoots the mark. Forgetting that he has considered only the religious aspect of Hindu art, he comes to the erroneous conclusion that all Indian art bears a religious character. As a matter of fact, Hindu architecture is not any more spiritual than is Greek or Gothic architecture. Nor is it true to say that the Hindu art is the product of a yogi hypersensitive consciousness, any more than the best specimens of mediæval Christian art are that.'*** The truth of the matter is that when due allowance is made for superficial differences in schools and epochs there is an essential identity of artistic inspiration between East and West.

The above view is typical of SUKTHANKAR's scientific approach to problems : wading through the *minutiae* or *differentiae* in their space-time context and arriving at the central theme which shows an essential identity or uniformity throughout. This is clearly borne out later in his great Mahābhārata work.

The most important publication of this year is naturally SUKTHANKAR's dissertation which had been completed just prior to the beginning of the first World War, in 1914. The title of the dissertation is : "Die Grammatik Śākatāyana's (Ādhyaya I, Pāda 1) nebst Yaśavarma's Kommentar, mit Uebersetzung der Sūtras und Erläuterungen versehen.' It gives a specimen of the grammatical sūtras of Śāk. based upon three Manuscripts, B, P and H. Although these three Mass do not differ from each other in major questions, they appear to be independent of each other in their minor variations. The constitution of the text is principally based on B ; the text occupies the first 33 pages (13-45) ; the *variae lectiones* cover pages 46-51 ; the second part, consisting of the translation into German with explanations of the text covers the rest of the 90 pages. As remarked in the *Bombay Chronicle* for February 1915, this dissertation is at the same time a contribution to the history of Sanskrit Grammar. Evidence for its being so is to be found in the critical review of BELVALKAR's *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*,³⁰ and the rejoinder of Prof. PATHAK on

³⁰ See f.n. 14 *supra*.

the authorship of the *Amoghavrtti* subsequently.³¹ SUKTHANKAR himself considered that this dissertation was to him only a means of training in the modern scientific investigation so successfully applied by Western Orientalists and Indologists of the greatness of LUDERS, and that the work by itself was not of any great merit. But this was at a time when all his energies were absorbed in the great work of editing the *Mahābhārata*; it was, therefore, a matter of considerable surprise to him that there are a number of important references to this early work of his in RENOU's *Grammaire Sanscrite*.

Two inscriptions were edited by SUKTHANKAR during 1922. The first one is the *Vākātaka* Inscription from Ganj,³² and like the Kuṭhārā inscription discovered by CUNNINGHAM (commonly known as the Nāchanē-ki-tālāi inscription), is one of the oldest records of the *Vākātaka* dynasty, and is practically identical with it. SUKTHANKAR's freedom from bias is witnessed in this editorial work:

BUHLER assigns the copper-plates of the *Vākātaka* *Pravatasēna* II., the grandson of *Prthivisēna* I., to the fifth or sixth century A.D., it is not known to me on what grounds. I have examined the inscriptions of the *Vākātaka* dynasty and compared them with the allied inscriptions engraved during the time of the Guptas, of the kings of Śarabhapurā, of Tivara, of Kōśala and of the early Kadamba kings, without being able to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the age of the *Vākātaka* inscriptions. BÜHLER'S date, however, appears to me to be far too early.*

When he is not certain of his results, SUKTHANKAR never makes any overstatement or shoots over the mark. The caution of the scholar trained in mathematical thinking is in evidence in every statement that he makes.

The second group consists of two new grants of Dhruvasena (I). from *Palitānā*.³³ The first grant is edited from the plates of Dhruvasena I: (Valabhi)-Sam(Val)207, and SUKTHANKAR's discussion of the controversial expression *-prāpiya* or *-prāvesya* is very interesting. The date of the inscription corresponds to A.D. 527. The second grant contains only the opening portion of a land-grant of the Maitraka king Dhruvasēna I. This is concluded with a Postscript wherein another plate issued by the same king in the year 206 (corresponding to A.D. 525) is edited.

³¹ *Annals BORI* 1.

³² *Et* 17. 12-14. *

³³ *Ibid* 17. 105-110.

The year's work is concluded with the third paper in the series *Studies in Bhāsa*, dealing with the relationship between the *Cōrudatto* and the celebrated *Mṛchakaṭika*.³⁴ According to SUKTHANKAR, 'the close correspondence between the anonymous fragment *Cōrudatta* and the celebrated *Mṛchakaṭika*, attributed to King Śūdraka, inevitably necessitates the assumption of a genetic relationship, and indisputably excludes the possibility of independent origin.' The problem is attacked by noting the textual differences between the two versions, and these variations are classified here under four headings: 1. Technique; 2. Prakrit; 3. Versification; and 4. Dramatic incident. By a dispassionate consideration of technical variations it is found that this evidence is inconclusive regarding priority of the one or the other. The Prakrit archaisms of *Cōrudatta* are by themselves no criterion for the general priority of *Cārudatta* to *M. chakaṭika*; on the other hand the versification of *Mṛch.* is better than that of *Cōru.*, and the change of readings between the parallel versions appears to be consistently worse for the *Cāru.* We could not reasonably hold the copyists guilty of introducing systematically such strange blunders and inexcusable distortions. If the Prakrit and Versification facts are combined, and if the posterity of *Cāru.* is assumed, we are asked to believe that while the compiler of the *Cāru.* had carefully copied from older manuscripts all the Prakrit archaisms, he had systematically mutilated the Sanskrit verses, which is a *reductio ad absurdum*. The fourth point adds considerably to the opposite assumption of the priority of *Cōru.* to *Mṛch.* Adding all this evidence SUKTHANKAR comes to the conclusion that it is not unreasonable to assume the priority of the *Cōrudatta* fragment to the *Mṛchakaṭika*.

While engaged on such wider research SUKTHANKAR did not neglect his aesthetic taste as a critical Sanskrit scholar. We find him publishing during 1922, in the Calcutta journal *Shama'a*,³⁵ his first English rendering of the *Svapnovāsavadatta*, between April and October. It is an excellent English version of this immortal love-play, republished with great improvement, by the Oxford University Press in 1923 as: "*Vāsavadattā*, Being a translation of an anonymous Sanskrit drama, *Svapnāvāsavadattā* attributed to Bhāsa."³⁶ Within its 94 pages of beautiful print it is packed

³⁴ JAOS 42. 59-74.

³⁵ April and July 1922, pp. 137-69; October 1922, pp. 25-45.

³⁶ Pp. V + 94.

with interest and excitement. According to a searching critic in the *Voice of India*,³⁷ SUKTHANKAR's rendering mirrors the truth, lucidity and vigour of the original. A very pellucid preface which hides extensive reading, shows that the burden of the story is the triumph of steadfast, undying love, for which no sacrifice is too costly. Another critic in the *Modern Review*³⁸ agrees that Dr. SUKTHANKAR is one of that rare group of Indologists who have combined with a passion for occidental method a mastery of the indigenous technique of Sanskrit grammar. Hence his translation of Bhāsa's masterpiece is at once transparent and suggestive, useful for the general reader and illuminating from the point of view of textual elucidation.

Studies in Bhāsa: IV deals with a very detailed concordance of the dramas.³⁹ The introductory paragraph of this paper, with the words italicised by us, indicates the scope and method of approach, which has been SUKTHANKAR's special characteristic.

Ganapati SASTRI and other scholars after him, who uphold the theory of the authorship of Bhāsa, have sought to justify their ascription to the entire group of thirteen dramas to one common author on the strength of some stray similarities of expression and analogies of thought to which they have drawn attention in their writings. The evidence that has hitherto been adduced must, however, be said to be inadequate to prove the claim in its entirety. The recurrent and parallel passages collected by them although they show in a general way that this group of thirteen anonymous plays contains a number of ideas and expressions in common, do not suffice to establish the common authorship. It has not been realized by these scholars that *the ascription of common authorship has to be justified and proved rigorously in the case of each drama separately*. Only intensive study of the diction and idiosyncracies of the dramas, taken individually, will enable us to pronounce an authoritative opinion on the question.

The scope of the paper has been restricted to the presentation of material which falls within the following six categories: (a) Entire stanzas; (b) Entire pādas of verses; (c) Longer prose passages; (d) Short passages; (e) Set phrases and rare words, and (f) Echoes of thought. Altogether these six categories cover 127 cases.

³⁷ For 31st Oct 1921.

³⁸ For Jan. 1924.

³⁹ *Annals BORI* 4 167-187.

The fifth of this series entitled 'A bibliographical note'⁴⁰ is an attempt to present, in as complete a form as possible all the material available up to 1923 on the vexed problem of Bhāsa, arranged systematically under different heads. The total number of entries comes to 111 and is distributed over three main heads: Individual Plays (Nos. 1-54), General Criticism of the Plays (Nos. 55-95) and Incidental References (Nos. 96-111). A study of this scattered material, mostly at first hand, was the basis for the observations contained in SUKTHANKAR's papers on the subject of Bhāsa. This little study is really an index to the genius of SUKTHANKAR; for it shows that he was not satisfied with a mere surface acquaintance with the critical literature on the particular subject of his own investigation, and dived deep not only into the original material but also into the critical studies of others.

'An Excursion on the Periphery of Indological Research' is the text of a discourse delivered by SUKTHANKAR on 20th August 1923, at a gathering of the Cama Institute, on the 14th Anniversary of the late Mr. K. R. CAMA, and published in the third volume of that Institute's journal during 1924.⁴¹ In his peripheral excursion the lecturer takes us round Greater India, Iran (and discovery of Hittite and Mitani tablets) the countries of Buddhistic expansion in Central Asia wherein Sir Aurel STEIN, Dr. VON LE COQ and others had discovered a large amount of literary remains. This lecture summarises the important research as well as the results of the exploration carried out by European scholars and exhorts Indian scholars to do likewise. These problems which lie at the fringe of Indological research and should not be neglected require as much attention by Indian scholars as the central problems with which the previous generation of Indian scholars concerned themselves. It is an appeal to us to widen our scholarly outlook and understand the problems which our forbears have created in conquering intellectually or spiritually dominions lying on the periphery of India.

The year 1925 is the most important in the career of SUKTHANKAR. It was on the 4th August of this year that he assumed charge of the General Editorship of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata and thereafter devoted himself almost exclusively to this great work. But the

⁴⁰ *JBBRAS* 26. 230-49

⁴¹ Pp. 93-104.

M Bk Y 62--3

accumulated studies which he had completed during the preceding period were still pending with several journals. Thus we find the second translation from German which SUKTHANKAR made for publication : *Zarathustra : His Life and Doctrine*, being the Akademische Rede delivered by Prof. Chr. BATHOLOMAE at Heidelberg on 22nd November 1918.⁴²

A short note on the Sātavāhanas appears simultaneously in the *JBRAS*⁴³ and the *QJMS*,⁴⁴ replying to the criticism of Mr. T. N. SUBRAMANIAN of Kumbakonam regarding SUKTHANKAR's paper on the Home of the so-called Andhras. The following sentences mirror SUKTHANKAR's critical as well as introspective attitude quite well :

I must frankly admit, however, that the wording of the last paragraph of my article in question is rather abstruse and apt to confuse and mislead a casual reader. I welcome therefore this opportunity to restate my old views more lucidly as follows. I hold : (1) that no cogent reason having been shown for connecting the early Sātavāhana kings with the Andhradeśa, their activity should be regarded as restricted to the western and south-western portion of the Deccan plateau; only later kings of this dynasty extended their sway eastwards, so that subsequently even the Andhradeśa was included in the Sātavāhana dominions; the Sātavāhana migration was from the west to the east; (2) that the Sātavāhanas are different from, and should not be confused with, the Andhras mentioned in Greek and Chinese chronicles; (3) that the home (or early habitat) of the Sātavāhanas is to be looked for on the western side of the peninsula and is perhaps to be located in the province then known as *Sātavāhani-hāra*—a province of which the situation is unknown or uncertain.

The whole object of research is to arrive at the truth, so far as that is possible; and if one has committed an error of judgment or has not expressed oneself clearly, the confessing to that fact and the re-attempt to correct oneself in that light is the true character of a great scholar. SUKTHANKAR comes out triumphant each time this test is applied to his writings; for to him, knowledge without character was a barren thing, incapable of touching the finest emotions of a cultured being.

⁴² Reprinted from the *Sanjana Memorial Volume*, pp. 1-15.

⁴³ New Series, 1 (190-61).

⁴⁴ July 1923, Vol. XIII, No. 4, pp. 776-7.

The sixth of the series, *Studies in Bhāsa*, is one of SUKTHANKAR's great contributions to critical reviewing.⁴⁵ In this paper he gives a belated review of the thesis *Bhāsa's Prakṛit* by Dr. Wilhelm PRINTZ, accepted by the University of Frankfurt as 'Habilitationsschrift' in 1919, and published two years later. The work itself is one of the most important contributions to the study of the Prakrits in Sanskrit plays, and in particular to the study of the Prakrit of the thirteen plays attributed to Bhāsa. The text-critical training which SUKTHANKAR had received at the hands of LUDERS is clearly visible when he remarks :

' His methodology seems to imply that the Trivandrum texts have been handed down in an almost unalloyed condition since the time of the supposed author Bhāsa. PRINTZ deals with the Prakrit of these plays in the same confident way in which Prof. LUDERS has dealt with the Prakrit of the Turfan fragments of Buddhist dramas. In doing so, PRINTZ has failed to take into account the essential difference of character between the two sets of manuscripts, not to speak of the manner in which they have been edited ; he appears not to appreciate the elementary fact that Prakrit texts are liable to serious mutilation and corruption in the course of transmission through centuries, and that they need most careful editing. PRINTZ's method of arguing is most unscientific.'

It may be mentioned here that the whole of this detailed review article is a corrective to PRINTZ's thesis and that his work will be practically useless for critical studies without SUKTHANKAR's notes on it. The chief fault of PRINTZ is the classification of the Prakrit dialects, and his citations for Māgadhī and Ardha-māgadhī are all but useless : secondly his overlooking the southern graphy and obvious Dravidianisms of the Prakrit passages has led him to wrong conclusions. An important result of examining PRINTZ's thesis by SUKTHANKAR is to prove that the Prakrit argument is inconclusive and cannot by itself be safely made the basis of chronology.

We now come to the last of the studies on Bhāsa which SUKTHANKAR published.⁴⁶ It is entitled : " The Bhāsa Riddle : A Proposed Solution." Although it is not numbered as the seventh in the series called *STUDIES IN BHĀSA* of which six had already been published, it is a fitting conclusion

⁴⁵ *JBBRAS* (NS) 1.103-17.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 1.126-43. See now A.D. PUSALKAR,
M Bk Y 62-8a

to these previous studies. The conclusions arrived at may be given in the author's own words :

My view of this group of plays may then be briefly summarized as follows. Our *Svapnauśavadatī* is a Malayalam recension of Bhāsa's drama of that name : the *Pratīnāyagandhoṛyāṇa* may be by the same author ; but the authorship of the rest of the dramas must be said to be still quite uncertain. It may be added that Bhāsa's authorship of some particular drama or dramas of this group is a question wholly independent of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the group as a whole. Indeed the only factor which unites these plays into a group is that they form part of the repertoire of a class of hereditary actors. The *Cārudatta* is the original of the *Mrcchakatika*. The five one-act Mahābhārata pieces form a closely related, homogeneous group ; they appear in fact to be single acts detached from a lengthy dramatized version of the complete MBh saga, — a version which may yet come to light, if a search be made for it. The *Urubhaṅga* is no tragedy in one act, but a detached intermediate act of some drama. The present prologues and epilogues of our plays are all unauthentic and comparatively modern.

The year closes with reviews of the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society* for December 1923, vol. III, Part I, MACDONELL's *Practical Sanskrit Dictionary* (corrected reissue, 1924) and Sir FLINDER PETRIE's *Religious Life in Ancient India*.⁴⁷ All these reviews attest to that independence of judgment and that sureness of approach which one learns to associate with SUKTHANKAR.

During 1926 SUKTHANKAR revised GHATE's *Lectures on the Rig Veda* and contributed a Preface. He also contributed an illuminating Foreword to the Marathi rendering of the *Svapnauśavadatī* by Prof. URDHWARESHE.

Since 1925 SUKTHANKAR became the Chief Editor of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (New Series) and gave a new impetus to the declining condition of the research work published by the Society. There is a reference to this in the *Bombay Chronicle* for May 10, 1925, which may be reproduced here :

The reproach that the local Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has been the rose garden of senility seems to be in a fair way to be wiped out. The first number of the new series of its journal may now well stand in line with similar periodicals in other parts of the world and certainly in India. The Joint Editors are Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., Ph.D. (Berlin) and Professor SHAIKH Abdul Kadar, M.A., I.L.S. The former especially seems to have thrown himself with energy into his new task. Learned Bombay expects that he will sustain the ardour evinced in the first issue of the journal and fulfil the promise of his first performance.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 1.167-73.

Prof. WINTERNITZ, while reviewing the same journal in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, remarks :⁴⁸

" We heartily congratulate the Bombay Society on this first number of the New Series of its *Journal*, which not only contains much valuable matter, but is also got up in excellent style and well printed on good paper. It is to be hoped that a large increase of subscribers to the journal both in India and Europe will make it possible for the Society to keep up this high standard "

Since 1925 SUKTHANKAR was delivering postgraduate Lectures on Comparative Philology at the University of Bombay. Among his papers are still to be found manuscript and type-written notes of these lectures, particularly in connection with the comparative grammars of Indo-European and Indo-Aryan. A cursory glance has convinced the writer of the extreme care with which SUKTHANKAR compiled his notes and with what details he worked out his general lectures. Like R. L. STEVENSON he polished his work over and over again until all the dross was removed, leaving pure shining gold behind. If one works through all the *Nachlasse* of SUKTHANKAR one is struck by the patience, the meticulous accuracy, the eye to detail and withal a power to see the whole through a few details only, with which he took up any problem.

SUKTHANKAR commenced his new but last phase of scholarship as the General Editor of the Great Epic on the 4th of August 1925. He had naturally before him the experience of his predecessor UTGIKAR with a batch of assistants and an editorial committee; but that experience showed him the necessity of re-organizing the entire department, from the manner of collating the manuscripts up to the final selection of readings for the constituted text and the laborious critical apparatus. The classification of the Mahābhārata manuscripts broadly into two recensions, Northern and Southern, had already been achieved before the turn of the century. In the tentative edition of UTGIKAR also this was accepted as an axiom, but he did not attempt a full classification of the Mss. and arrive at their pedigree. His main object was to test the authenticity of a certain group of Mss. utilized for the tentative edition and clear the ground for future editorial work on the critical Edition. Now that the final responsibility of critically editing the Epic rested entirely with SUKTHANKAR he had not only to select his Mss. for the critical apparatus by means of tests devised so far and assure himself of the authenticity of the manuscript tradition represented by various exemplars obtainable

⁴⁸ WZKM.

for collation, but also to arrange for their proper collation and subsequent classification. It took four years to produce the tentative edition of the Virāṭaparvan based on 16 Mss. 11 Devanāgarī, 1 each of Bengali, Telugu and Grantha and two Malayālam Mss. The best commentary on this edition is to be found in the Introduction to the Critical Edition of the Virāṭaparvan :⁴⁹

Last of all, there is the Tentative Edition of the Virāṭaparvan prepared by the late Mr. N. B. UGIKAR, M.A., and published by this Institute in 1923. It was based on eleven Devanāgarī Mss. (our D₁₋₃, 7810 Dn₁ n₂, the others having been rejected by me as of little critical value), one Bengali (our B₄), one Telugu, one Grantha and two Malayālam Mss. (our M₁ 2). Out of these 16 Mss. Mr. UGIKAR had chosen three (F A M = our D₁₋₃) as the basis of his text. The chief reason for his preference for these seems to have been their division of the Virāṭaparvan into 67 adhyāyas, exactly the number given in the Parvasamgraha. Further by effecting certain omissions favoured by the Southern recension, Mr. UGIKAR was able to arrive at a text of just 2050 stanzas, not a stanza less or more. 2050 is, again, the Parvasamgraha figure. Relying on the Kumbhakonam edition as the Southern recension, which is in reality a hopeless blend of the Northern and the Southern and which at this particular point (Parvasamgraha) has the Northern text, Mr. UGIKAR came to believe that the Parvasamgraha data in both the recensions are the same, that the Parvasamgraha has not been tampered with, and that having been known to Kumāra in about the 7th century A.D. it must reflect the Mahābhārata of a still more ancient age, and hence his own text which tallies with this data so perfectly must be as old as 'fourth century A.D. at least'. Mr. UGIKAR thought that he could go even further back, beyond the Parvasamgraha age, by purging the text of 34 lines which had already crept into the Mahābhārata when the Parvasamgraha was composed. Every one of these 34 lines is the third line of a six-pāda stanza, and as such could not have been original, for the norm of the stanza was four pādas forming two lines. So though found in all Mss. Mr. UGIKAR did not admit them into the text, which was thus curtailed by him to 2033 stanzas. Since the time of Mr. UGIKAR more Ms. material has been discovered, notably S₁ K₁ 2 which represents a tradition superior to the three base Mss. of Mr. UGIKAR, and a prolonged and intensive study of the Mahābhārata Mss. has established definitely that too much reliance on any group of Mss. is unwarranted and misleading, and that the Parvasamgraha figures, even when uniform, can be no sure guide in our effort at going beyond the version.

The last part of the above paragraph has been purposely italicised by us. It indicates briefly*but with force the basic fault of earlier editors like

⁴⁹ p. vi

Mr. UTGIKAR, and of later editors like Prof. P. P. S. SASTRI who have relied too much on the Parvasaṅgraha argument⁵⁰ to base their critical editions, at the cost of the evidence which the manuscripts themselves bring forward. If, in a critical edition, the manuscript evidence of different classes of exemplars is not assessed properly and turned into account, and the constitution of the text is vitiated by an argument which is not supported by the evidence of the Mss. then it ceases to be a critical edition, at least in the sense of 'lower textual criticism' whose main object is to arrive at the most ancient form of the text as reconstructed entirely on the basis of the exemplars of the text available for critical purposes.

So the first and most difficult task before SUKTHANKAR was the classification of the Mss. material and the building up of a pedigree of the different classes of Mss. which could be critically utilized for the purposes of the edition. During the interval of two years which elapsed between SUKTHANKAR's taking charge (August 1925) and the publication of the first fasciculus of the *Ādiparvan* (May 1927) covering the first two *adhyāyas*, SUKTHANKAR utilized altogether 50 Mss. for collation and use in the critical apparatus, distributed as under : 7 for the Kāśmīri Version in Devanāgarī transcript, 1 for the Maithili Version, 4 for the Bengali Version, 2 for the Devanāgarī Version of Arjunamīśra, 3 for the Devanāgarī Version of Nilakaṇṭha, 4 for the Dev. Version of Ratnagarbha and 14 for the Dev. Mixed Versions, constituting the Northern Recension ; 2 for the Telugu Version, 7 for the Grantha Version and 4 for the Malayālam Version, constituting the Southern Recension. In addition 2 Mss. containing the text of Devabodha's commentary without the epic text were also collated.

With the aid of this critical apparatus SUKTHANKAR constituted his critical text of the first two *adhyāyas* of the *Ādiparvan* within less than two years, establishing an unprecedented record for critical editing. For he had to classify the Mss. material, and an important advance made in this was the separation of the archetype K (which represents the Devanāgarī transcripts of the Kāśmīri or North-western version) from other so-called Devanāgarī versions.⁵¹ The archetype K represents a comparatively pure form of the MBh textual tradition and together with

⁵⁰ On this see the Prolegomena.

⁵¹ Foreword to Fascicule I.

the Śāradā forms the *textus simplicior*. The Maithili version stands nearest to the Bengali version, as SUKTHANKAR found, and this latter itself is slightly superior to the Vulgate. Closely connected with the Bengali is the version of Arjunamīśra. Nilakanṭha presents a 'smooth' version generally accepted as the 'Vulgate', and next to this comes the mixed Devanāgarī group. In this manner SUKTHANKAR began to discover the genetic pattern existing between the different classes of Mss. irrespective of their individual idiosyncracies. This is a very important distinction when dealing with such texts of a complicated tradition as the Great Epic. For if we get enmeshed within the individual idiosyncracies first it is impossible to arrive at a fundamental principle in the reconstruction of the oldest text. For evaluating the particular codex it is essential for the editor to make an intensive study of it and note down its peculiarities ; but when we have hundreds of Mss. to choose from, we have to give importance to types of Mss. rather than to number. SUKTHANKAR had therefore 50 Mss. of the Ādi for collation from out of approximately 235 known through catalogues, etc. and of which 107 were in Devanāgarī script, 32 in Bengali, 31 in Grantha, 28 in Telugu, 26 in Malayālam, 5 in Nepālī, 3 in Śāradā, 1 each in Maithili, Kannada and Nandināgarī. Of these about 70 were fully or partly examined and collated for this edition : of these again 60 were actually utilized in preparing the text, and the critical apparatus of the first two adhyāyas gives the collations of 50 Manuscripts.

The very classification of manuscripts which SUKTHANKAR gives on p. iii of his Foreword to the first fasciculus of the Ādiparvan, under the date January 1927, shows that the pedigree of Mss. had been fully worked out ; the separation of the K version from the so-called D version establishes the archetype γ comprising Ś and K ; similarly the archetype ε is presumed by the intimate relationship existing between Maithili and Bengali Mss. in opposition to the so-called D group of Mss. with which they form a minor group leading to the sub-recension γ which may be termed the Central Sub-Recension. In a similar manner the archetype σ comprising T and G Mss. is established. By what tedious process of classification and re-classification of the Mss. this pedigree of Ādiparvan versions was arrived at can only be imagined by those who have actually worked with such complex material or have gone through in detail the *apparatus criticus* given by SUKTHANKAR with his constituted text. We have some means of following the thought-process

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1943

They do. Kate
I wish them to attend
a meeting of the Com. P.
the whole lot. So
little thing early today.
There were however in stand
up today as ever.

[Handwritten signature]

of SUKTHANKAR in the scribbled notes and jottings which he used to make at this time. We reproduce below the short text of some notes made on 14th October 1925, regarding the Principles of Mbh. Text Criticism and Text Reconstruction :

(1) The chief principle of text criticism is to take as a basis the oldest Ms. of that family of Mss. which is recognised as the best, and with all possible consistency to make this authoritative in the edition. But it should be clearly recognised that Mss. of even the best family are not entirely free from errors, corruptions, emendations and innovations. Nevertheless before one rejects a reading of the basic Mss. it ought to be shown that the supposed superior reading must inevitably have stood in the Ur-Northern Recension.

(2) Give preference to a reading found in both the Grantha and Malayālam Mss., when confirmed by the Bengali Mss., even though they stand in conflict with the Basic Mss. In other words, a reading found in Grantha, Malayālam and Bengali is *prima facie* superior to a variant found only in the basic Mss.

(3) As a general rule, no complete verse should be adopted as genuine unless it is found in both the Northern and the Southern Recensions. Exceptions may be considered. When a non-recension verse, for cogent reasons is adopted, it should be printed in small type.

(4) There being two distinct recensions, only one can be printed at a time. When the N and S readings are of equal value, choose, for the sake of consistency, uniformly the N, so as to avoid as far as possible a *samkara* of the recensions (We give preference to the Northern as the more reliable recension, it being nearer the source of the original. But this is external criticism and a *priori* conclusion)

(5) In the absence of other criteria, the consistency of any one class of Mss. should be the guiding factor in the choice of a reading.

(6) Compare commentaries and note down their *pāṭhanāras* in the footnotes, in among the v. l.

(7) When there is a change of speaker, the name of the interlocutor should be invariably and consistently printed in the text. When it is not found in the old Mss. or in any of the Mss. at all, then it should be enclosed in square brackets.

(8) No emendation should be made which is not self-evident or inevitable, and which is open to the slightest doubt.

The rough draft of a *Stemma Codicum* reproduced here, on the opposite page, is dated 24th September 1925. It shows the process by which SUKTHANKAR struggled through to that simple but great discovery of the genetic relationship between the recensions and versions and sub-versions

of the Mahābhārata critical apparatus.⁵² The above principles may be compared with those devised by SUKTHANKAR in critically editing the first two adhyāyas of the Ādiparvan :⁵³

The Southern recension agrees with the archetype K more closely than with any other Northern version. Since I have not been able to discover traces of 'secondary inter-relationship' between archetypes K and S, I consider the agreement between these two archetypes as 'primitive'. *This concord is a factor of supreme importance for the reconstruction of the text....* In preparing the constituted text of the first two adhyāyas I have endeavoured to balance the eclecticism advocated in certain matters with rigid conservatism insisted on in others. I have been most averse to reject or correct the readings of good manuscripts. Interpretation has throughout been given precedence over emendation ; As a general rule, preference is given to a reading which best suggests how other readings might have arisen. When such a reading was not available the choice fell upon one which is common to (what *prima facie* appeared to be) more or less independent versions and which is supported by intrinsic probability. ... if we leave out of account documentary evidence, no convincing proof can in general be brought forward to establish either the originality or the spuriousness of the ... lines.

It will be clear from the above that a great deal of advance had been made over the early scribbled notes. In the first place the principles of textual criticism to be applied to the peculiar conditions of manuscripts connected with the Great Epic had been definitely worked out by the time the constitution of these first two adhyāyas became possible ; in the second place we observe that even in this Foreword the same cautious use of language is made as in the Prolegomena published seven years later ; the confidence, the meticulous accuracy, the mastery of the whole epic material, is evidenced by the very ring of the sentences which SUKTHANKAR composes in expressing his views. Although the material included in the first fascicule is small compared to the extent of the whole of the Ādiparvan, the amount of work needed to elucidate the principles, to select the Mss. for the critical apparatus, and to constitute the text after classifying them, is something of which India can be reasonably proud. For in the annals of critical editing in the Oriental world nothing similar had been done before ; no text-critic in Europe had experience enough to deal with the problems which the wilderness of text-tradition witnessed

⁵² An intermediate stage is seen in Epic Studies III, *Annals BARI* 11.

⁵³ Foreword.

in the Great Epic presented; only a prolonged and patient study by a master-mind could penetrate into this wilderness and clear the paths of textual reconstruction. That SUKTHANKAR, standing as he did at the apex of previous attempts, could achieve this distinction within such a short time as less than two years, is a factor which many have not thought about. Only those like WINTERNITZ and LUDERS who could measure a genius of this type, because they themselves possessed the gift for this work in a similar degree, realized the greatness of the achievement.⁵⁴

It is interesting to note from the Postscript to this Foreword that after the manuscript of the first fascicule had been sent to the press, the Editor was able to secure collations of Śāradā and Nepālī manuscripts, and the collations received by him wholly supported the constituted text, especially regarding the interpolated stanzas, thereby proving the correctness of the method adopted in settling the text.

The first fascicule ends with 1.2.233. During 1928 the second fascicule bringing the constituted text up to 1.21.17 *ab* was published. In this fascicule five additional Mss. have been used, and particularly the Newārī Mss. \tilde{N}_{1-3} . A perusal of the editorial note shows that SUKTHANKAR had finally decided about the position of this \tilde{N} -version; for while \tilde{N}_2 agrees, as a rule with V_1 B group, \tilde{N}_{1-3} strangely enough show frequently features which they share with Kand S, throwing doubts about the true Newārī characteristics of these two.

The third fascicule containing the constituted text up to 1.53.36 was published in 1929. In the history of Mahābhārata studies, for the first time, this fascicule presents the collations of a Śāradā Ms. of the Great Epic. Similarly the new Ms. K_1 added to the apparatus is another unique manuscript, being a Devanāgarī transcript of a Śāradā original very closely allied to \tilde{S}_1 . A very important result of the collation and utilization of these two codices belonging to the Kāśmīrī version of the Mahābhārata is to show independently the correctness of the constituted text of the Parvasaṅgraha (missing in \tilde{S}_1) figure for the extent of the Ādi as constituted by SUKTHANKAR on the basis of the other Mss. The truth of this constituted text is unexpectedly proved by the stanza repeated at the end of the Ādiparvan in \tilde{S}_1 , though this codex has a lacuna for the first 25 adhyāyas, and its collation begins only with 26.10. This

⁵⁴ This appreciation will be clear from their reviews and letters which are still on the Institute's files.

corresponds almost *verbatim* with the constituted text of 1.2.96. The death-knell of the Parvasaṃgraha argument is tolled when SUKTHANKAR remarks.⁵⁵

In passing I may point out that even the variations mentioned above show, if indeed the critical apparatus has not done so in sufficiency, that it would be a grave mistake to regard the Parvasaṃgraha as the one immutable factor in the chequered history of the Mahābhārata text. There can, I think, be no doubt that the text of this adhyāya also has been tampered with and designedly altered, from time to time, in various ways, in order to make it harmonize with the inflated versions of a later epoch.

A passing reference should be made here to a *Descriptive Catalogue of the Bijapur Museum of Archaeology*, published by the Government Central Press, Bombay in 1928. Evidently the text of this must have been prepared by SUKTHANKAR during his short connection with the Archaeological Department between 1916 and 1920.

But far more important than this, and almost as important as fascicule 2 of the *Ādi* published during the same year, is the first of the rightly-famous series EPIC STUDIES. It is published under the title 'Some Aspects of the Mahābhārata Canon',⁵⁶ and is the result of two reviews of the first fascicule published respectively by Hermann WELLER and Franklin EDGERTON. As SUKTHANKAR remarks at the very outset, both reviews are evidently products of a very close study of the text and the critical apparatus. Moreover the problem of the Mbh. textual criticism is a problem *sui generis*, and the principles are to be evolved from an intensive study of the Mss. material and the Mss. tradition. Both reviewers had considerable experience with allied problems, and if they disagree among themselves as to the choice of the reading for the constituted text, then (a) either the principles evolved for textual reconstruction are not quite sound, or (b) there are significant variants which have equal probability (documental or intrinsic) in favour of being accepted for the constituted text. The readings on which these differences of opinion are based are 1.1.19, 42, 49, 62 and 201 and the identification of the hundred sub-parvas of the Mbh. enumerated in the second adhyāya of the *Adiparvan*. The very first case of disagreement is the famous

⁵⁵ Editorial Note.

⁵⁶ *JBRAS* (NS) 4. 757-78.

verse-foot *vedaś caturbhīḥ sanūtām* at 1.1.19 (with v. 1. *sammitām*) which WELLER proposes to read as *caturbhīḥ sanmitām vedaś*. After a brilliant argument SUKTHANKAR points out the reading accepted as a *lectio difficilior* giving rise to all the other variants noticed in the *apparatus criticus*. In passing he remarks: 'It is methodologically wrong to expect to find the original reading by picking out a stray variant which appears to give a better meaning, and shuffling the words of the pāda until the pathyā form turns up' (as WELLER seems to have done). In the second case discussed SUKTHANKAR has marshalled the argument of documental probability to a nicety, showing that the reading *ātmavān* documented, among others, by the whole of B and the whole of S, there being no possibility of a secondary relationship existing between these two versions as a whole. In the third case the rejected reading *saṁkṛīpya cābravīt*, though documented by B and S (except C₁; M₃) and far superior to WELLER's *saṁkṛepato* (which is weakly documented), is still not documentally strong enough; it is not supported by the whole of S; moreover, the weak point of the variant is that it does not explain how the other readings may have arisen. All these arguments which must have been utilized by SUKTHANKAR in constituting his critical text exhibit his complete mastery of the methods and principles which had to be evolved by himself by patient study in less than two years. And he is not afraid to face the truth: he clearly indicates in this last argument that his own choice of *saṁkṛepam* may be purely a subjective one; but it is clear that the other two readings are not compellingly superior to replace it, even if the critical text were to be revised.

The fourth fascicule of the *Ādiparvan*, bringing the constituted text up to 1.90.24 was published in 1930, and it is interesting from the viewpoint of a textual critic, firstly because of the far-reaching divergence, met with for the first time, between N and S as regards the sequence of *adhyāyas* or *adhyāya* groups, and secondly because of the stupendous addition found in S in the well-known *Śakuntalā* episode. Now when there is discrepancy between N and S, it is difficult, as a rule, to give strict proof of the originality of either recension. In such cases the more generally reliable recension must be considered as the original, on the basis of general trustworthiness. This is precisely what SUKTHANKAR does in accepting the credence of the Ś K group as a stop-gap arrangement. Although N is relatively speaking less liable to interpolations than S, it likewise contains some flagrant additions and alterations. It thus follows

that only that portion of the text which is documented by both recensions may be considered as wholly certain and authentic; the rest is doubtful in varying degrees.⁵⁷

Epic Studies III is one of the most virile papers from the pen of SUKTHANKAR,⁵⁸ for it is a slashing answer to the criticism levelled against the first three fascicules and to the problems raised by Dr. RUBEN on the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata itself. It is a challenge to the methods which he had developed and his deep feeling is expressed in the very opening sentence: 'I am bound to form and express an opinion on the issues raised in the article Schwierigkeiten der Textkritik des Mahābhārata published in the current issue of the *Acta Orientalia* (vo. 8, pp. 240-256), in which the author, Dr. Walter RUBEN has reviewed Fascicules 1-3 of my edition of the Ādiparvan, criticizing at considerable length and in great detail the principles underlying the preparation of the edition and the constitution of the text.' This paper is interesting because it gives him the opportunity of re-examining searchingly these principles and coming out triumphant, and once for all establishing the unquestionable soundness of his methods of reconstruction and classification. A few selected sentences from this vigorous defence of his method will make the subject very clear.⁵⁹

Tested on the touchstone (of the canon of the *caturvarga* of the classical philologist) the critical edition of the Mbh. is found wanting in no less than three items, namely Heuristics, Emendatio and Higher Textual Criticism, the last two of which have been wholly left untouched, according to RUBEN. Even the first has by a long way not been done justice to by the hapless editor. ... As for Emendatio I must plead guilty to having perpetrated so far, perhaps somewhat unnecessarily, minor emendations in 13 instances in about 3800 stanzas.... Most scholars will, I fancy, sincerely be grateful that I have been so moderate and that I have declared it as my policy to give preference to interpretation over emendation. In speaking at all of 'Higher Criticism' in this connection RUBEN seems to show a lamentable lack of understanding of this objective edition, having mistaken entirely the beginning for the end of the critical work on the Mahābhārata. Higher criticism can begin only after Lower Criticism has done its work, not till then. ... But I imagine, RUBEN does not want to say anything special at all, when he mentions his 'Höhere Kritik'. The item is probably introduced here merely *pro forma*, as the fourth and last stage of the *ariya-mogga*.

⁵⁷ See Editorial Note to this fascicule.

⁵⁸ Dr. RUBEN and the critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, *Annals BORI*, 11259-83.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 259-66.

And how would it be possible to apply to the *Mahābhārata* the canons of the Classical Philology *in toto*? Where has the Classical Philology, I should like to know, the necessary experience in dealing with a text with about a dozen editions whose extreme types differ in extent by something like 13,000 stanzas (or 26,000 lines); a work which for centuries has been growing not only upwards and downwards but also laterally, like the Nyagrodha tree, growing on all sides; a codex which has been written in seven or eight different scripts, assiduously and lovingly copied through a long vista of centuries by a legion of devout — and perhaps mostly ignorant and indifferent — copyists speaking different tongues; a traditional book of inspiration which in various shapes and sizes, has been the cherished heritage of one people continuously for several millennia and which to the present day is interwoven with the thoughts and beliefs and moral ideas of a nation numbering over two hundred million? No, the Classical Philology has no experience in dealing with a text of this description, a work of such colossal dimensions and complex character, with such a long and intricate history behind. That is why I have said that the problem of the *Mahābhārata* textual criticism is a problem *sui generis*.

If this were all that SUKTHANKAR had said it would have made him only an impassioned defence counsel with reference to the charges brought against the first three fascicules of the *Ādiparvan* and the methods of textual criticism advocated therein; but like a true scholar whose main strength lies both in his character and his complete mastery of details, he pursues the arguments by a fundamental grasp of the essentials which are necessary for a firm hold on the recalcitrant material to bring them into shape. In the second section of the paper he lays bare RUBEN'S exaggerations and generalisations, unwarranted by the facts which he uses as his basis for them. The next major item of discussion, the four types of constellations (complete agreement between N and S, non-agreement, cross agreement and partial agreement) are discussed with great force and brilliance. This is followed by a provisional *stemma codicum* representing the types of versions utilized for the critical edition. The concluding part is as interesting as the beginning, and one sees SUKTHANKAR at his best as a warrior, unapproachable but withal not destroying, only showing up the weaknesses of the opponent's best moves by a thrust here or a thrust there, or at times parrying. His is not a capricious nature which hides behind heavy-weight authority when such criticism is levelled against him, and finds shelter in saying that the arguments of the opponent are not significant or are totally inadequate; his true character comes out in every statement he makes; it is a desire to be understood properly and he does not brook incompetence or

ignorance : wherever he meets with them it is his duty to dispel them, and he does so without hurting, but with such a complete control and mastery that all opposition must either give way or look utterly foolish.

The small paper on Arjunamīśra,⁶⁰ however, does not require a detailed notice, as most of the facts here gathered are utilized later in his Notes on the Mahābhārata Commentators.

In 1931 appeared the fifth fascicule of the *Ādiparvan*, bringing down the constituted text to 1.149.20. The notable omissions from the critical text are the story of the birth of Duṣśalā, the unsuccessful attempts made by Duryodhana to kill Bhīma, an inflated account of the defeat and capture of Drupada, and the notorious Kaṇikanīti, etc. These omissions give rise to a difficult text-critical problem, since they have been rejected *mainly* on the evidence of the Kāśmīrī version : are they to be considered to be omissions in the lacking versions or additions in the others which contain them? The intrinsic evidence is, in SUKTHANKAR'S opinion, strongly, against their originality. He says :⁶¹

"Here therefore we are confronted by a very difficult case where the evidence *pro et contra* of documentary and intrinsic probability is equally or almost equally balanced. Now it would not do to form some *a priori* hypothesis as to the interrelationship of the versions and fix the text in terms of some preconceived notion about it. The study of the documents themselves must teach us what their interrelationship is. And they unmistakably indicate that this interrelationship is of a very complex character. In fact I am now fully persuaded that with the epic text as preserved in the extant Mahābhārata Mss. we stand at the wrong end of a long chain of successive syntheses of divergent texts carried out in a haphazard fashion through centuries of diœkeuastic activities, and that with the possible exception of the Kāśmīrī version all other versions are indiscriminately conflated."

The present statement sums up the importance of SUKTHANKAR'S approach to Mbh. textual criticism. In the face of these conflated Mss. the genetic method cannot be applied strictly and it is extremely difficult to disentangle completely by means of purely objective criteria their intricate mutual interrelationships. The results arrived at from a consideration of documentary probability must be further tested in the light of intrinsic probability. No part of the text can be considered really exempt from intrinsic probability when we are dealing with a carelessly guarded fluid text like the one presented by the Mbh. These are some of the findings which emerge from this fascicule.

⁶⁰ Sir J. J. Modi Commemoration Volume, 565-8.

⁶¹ See Editorial Note p. xii.

In the following year the sixth fascicule appeared, covering the constituted text to the end (1.225,19). There is no preface or editorial note with this issue, but SUKTHANKAR must have breathed a sigh of relief in releasing it to the public. For it was now seven years since his assuming the charge of its editorship, and in his own opinion he was behind his time-table. But those who knew the pioneer work he was doing in the Mbh. wilderness, realized with amazement the rapid progress he was making and the new history in Indian scholarly achievement that he was building up. Notwithstanding the principles that he established for the first time for critically editing the Mbh., it took other Parvan Editors even more time to complete their own assignments. Even taking advantage of his ripe experience the Parvan Editors could scarcely make the progress that SUKTHANKAR achieved single-handed, and with all the pioneer's new ground to break.

The year 1933 must rank in the annals of Oriental Scholarship as the zenith and peak of achievement so far as Mahābhārata studies are concerned. For during this year the final fascicule of the Ādiparvan containing the Appendices, Notes, Addenda, etc. and that immortal contribution of SUKTHANKAR entitled the *Prolegomena*, was published. No words of praise can describe the magnitude of SUKTHANKAR's achievement in this essay. For its classic style it stands supreme in the whole field of Indic Research; not only that; no other Introduction or Prolegomena can stand comparison with it, in its fundamental grasp, in its objective scientific approach and in the majesty of its survey. Once for all the question of editing texts of the type of the Great Epic was settled in all its fundamental aspects and fresh experience gained in dealing with complicated texts of this nature for which the experience of the western Classical Philology was totally inadequate. By a synthesis of the processes adopted by Classical Philology with the luxuriant overgrowth of the oriental *épopée*, SUKTHANKAR arrived at a number of principles and an objective method of approach where the fundamental grasp of foundational doctrines was necessary and sufficient.

All the great discoveries had already been made and assured by the time the *Prolegomena* came to be written. The three Epic Studies and the various Editorial Notes to the previous fascicules had seen to that. The greatness of the *Prolegomena* lies, however, in the fact, that here, at one place, all the great problems were taken up and systematically reduced to order, by a kind of mathematical logic which is the *sine qua non* of the

objective scientific approach. All criticisms which had appeared in the various reviews were answered with an unswerving logic which has silenced the criticism once for all. However great the critic, he could not be the equal of SUKTHANKAR in the critical handling of the Epic material. The suggestions which some of the continental scholars of eminence had thrown out with regard to the presentation of the text perhaps not from a sense of authority, but certainly through lack of experience in editing such texts—were squarely faced and exposed with a master's touch.

What is it that the *Prolegomena* does for the *Mbh.*? In the first place it explains in great detail the fundamental principles of textual criticism which should be applied to texts in India; for the textual tradition in India is vastly different from that of Europe as SUKTHANKAR has so convincingly shown in *Epic Studies* III. In the second place he has shown, despite the continuous syntheses, interpolations and conflation the mutual relationship existing between the different versions of the *Mbh.* as versions. In the third place he has shown the ideal method for critically editing Indian texts, and the *Prolegomena* is nothing if it does not teach a scholar how to edit texts scientifically.

In this work lasting for seven to eight years (the *Prolegomena* dated August 1933) SUKTHANKAR's scientific achievement reached the height of its glory. Witness, for example, the scientific use of the *sigla* attached to the critical apparatus of *Mss. used*; to the writer's knowledge, this is the only instance when the *sigla* were really made significant, representing in this case the script characterising the *Mss.* and the subscript numbers showing the order of their importance in that particular series. Similarly while presenting the variant readings in the *apparatus criticus*, it will be noticed by observant scholars that an invariable rule was followed; and this rule, or rather set of rules has a direct bearing on the pedigree of *Mss.* utilized for the apparatus. Everything SUKTHANKAR did had a method and an object, and even those who do not know anything of his earlier mathematical training can discover in such matters of small detail his fundamental training as a scientist. He is a scientist first and last and secondarily only an Orientalist or Indologist.

One of the earliest opinions expressed by Prof. LÜDERS on SUKTHANKAR's work has been printed on the cover pages of several fascicules of the *Ādiparvan* and is worth quoting; for LÜDERS, like SUKTHANKAR, was sparing of words, and any praise that he would bestow on a particular

work was not a formal affair, but something absolutely personal and deserving. 'I have been greatly impressed by the arrangements that have been made at the Institute for the collation of the Mahābhārata Mss. The arrangements are such as will ensure great accuracy and perfect clearness in the registration of various readings. Your work seems to me to merit the highest possible praise both as regards the constituting of the text, and the clarity and succinctness with which the Mss. evidence has been recorded. *In my reading of the text I came across no passage of any importance, where I had occasion to differ from you as to the choice of the right reading.*' This is the highest praise that can possibly be bestowed on the work of SUKTHANKAR for there was no scholar in Europe or America better fitted than LUDERS to edit the Grea Epic on the lines on which SUKTHANKAR worked; his training, keen critical acumen, his wonderful all-round acquaintance with almost every branch of Indic philology, and his own contributions which have been considered on all hands as the last word on the particular subjects, give that authority to his words.

There is now a gap of two years before SUKTHANKAR publishes any paper. But it does not signify that he has been resting. The work of the critical edition was progressing on the Virāṭa by RACHU VIRA and on the Udyoga by Sushil Kumar DE, under the personal supervision of the General Editor who had probably to work as much as the individual Parvan Editors on those sections assigned to them. Moreover he was also preparing for his editorial work of the Āranyakaparvan. In 1934 WINTERNITZ published a very detailed review of the Ādiparvan, and in the opening paragraph remarked :⁶²

I have no hesitation in saying that this is the most important event in the history of Sanskrit philology since the publication of Max MÜLLER's edition of the Ṛgveda with Sāyaṇa's commentary.'

This review gives in brief the main principles which SUKTHANKAR established with great detail in the Prolegomena. WINTERNITZ further remarks that 'our full approval of the general principles followed by the Editor, does not imply that we agree with him in every detail of the constituted text. Both I myself and other critics have already referred to passages where we should prefer other readings.' Accordingly he cites 24 instances which he came across in reading parts of the critical edition

⁶² *Annals BORI* 1934.

with his pupils in his Indological Seminar from time to time, where he differs from SUKTHANKAR. These do not touch the general principles adopted by the Editor, but WINTERNITZ takes exception to carrying too far the principle of choosing a reading 'which best explains how the other readings may have arisen.' In his Epic Studies IV : 'More Text-Critical Notes'⁶³ SUKTHANKAR attempts to meet the main objections raised by WINTERNITZ in the above review. Altogether nineteen out of the above 24 instances are taken up for discussion. SUKTHANKAR's absence of conceit and readiness to understand the other man's point of view are exemplified in this paper. Before actually presenting to us his view of these cases, setting forth the reasons which have guided him in the choice of the readings adopted by him in the critical text, he makes the following generous statement : 'When there are hundreds or thousands of readings to be considered and weighed it is natural that all the selections would not satisfy all readers ; and there are bound to be small slips in so enormous and difficult a work as this. But the reader has the advantage of having the full critical apparatus before him, prepared with all possible care and presented in a convenient manner. The reader may easily substitute in the text any reading that appeals to him better.' This is just what WINTERNITZ has done and as it is incumbent upon himself to explain his reasons for the choice of the particular readings objected to, SUKTHANKAR has once again shown that mastery of detail as well as of principles which we expect from him, as a result of his previous studies and publications.

As in Mathematics, here too SUKTHANKAR recognizes two types of conditions : the necessary condition and the sufficient condition. He has assumed that the agreement between K and S is a sufficient condition though not a necessary condition for the originality of the concordant reading. In the reading adopted by him at I.3.60 : *gīrā vā śaṁsāmi*, WINTERNITZ prefers the omission of *vā*, according to the principle that agreement between K and S warrants the better text, for $K_0 \bar{N}_1 S$ omit it, and besides, it disturbs the metre and the sense. To this SUKTHANKAR replies : there is no agreement here between K and S ; K_0 , it is true, represents the version K in a comparatively pure form but K_0 is not K. K_1 is, on the whole, a decidedly better representative of the Kāśmīrī version than K_0 . In the case under discussion we have K_0

⁶³ *Ibid.* 16. 90-133.

agreeing with S and K₁ with N, a case of cross-agreement, which has been overlooked by WINTERNITZ. As for the agreement of N, with S, it had already been pointed out by SUKTHANKAR that even the Mss. of distant Nepal are not wholly free from contamination from some Southern source or sources. It is thus proved that the documental probability in favour of the reading preferred by WINTERNITZ is not at all strong, and it is then proved to be further weakened by intrinsic probability. To the criticism of WINTERNITZ that too much reliance on the principle : adopt the reading which best explains how the other readings have or may have arisen, SUKTHANKAR replies by showing documentally how the reading *nivasatām* adopted by him at 1.3.145 could never be proved to have arisen from an original *nyavasatām* preferred by WINTERNITZ. There are many priceless teachings in this paper ; one of the classical instances is in connection with 1.92.2 : *Gaṅgā Śrī iva r̥pīṇi*. WINTERNITZ had remarked : " Here SUKTHANKAR adopts the reading of Ś₁K₁, against the reading of all other N Mss. The same Mss. Ś₁K₁ have in c *Śayanāt* for *salilāt* of all other Mss. which is rejected. Why should Ś₁K₁ in the first line be of greater authority than in the second line ? " This is a very pertinent question for a novice in textual criticism, but it is surprising that so acknowledged an authority on the subject like WINTERNITZ should have raised it. Nevertheless SUKTHANKAR considered it his duty to reply to this question, and he remarks : ' The configuration of the Mss. as well as the intrinsic merit of the readings are different in the two lines. That is how Ś₁K₁ appear to be of greater authority in the first line than in the second. The *salilāt* of the text is found in all Mss. except Ś₁K₁ (S only transposing the word), and is, therefore, for one thing, obviously far better documented than *Śayanāt* of Ś₁K₁ only. In the second line, therefore, we have practically, only two readings : *Śayanāt* of Ś₁K₁, against *salilāt* of the rest ; therefore the reading of Ś₁K₁ has been rightly rejected. Such is not the case in, the first line. Here we have three nearly independent readings (Ś₁ K₁ *Gaṅgā Śrī iva rūpīṇi* : Vulgate *G. strīrūpadhārīṇi* : S *lobhanīyatamākṛtiḥ* which latter is our fourth pāda). Here, while the two Northern readings are somewhat allied to each other, the Southern reading is entirely different, having very little connection with the Northern. None of the readings can be mechanically derived from the other, and intrinsically, they are all more or less of the same value. Such being the case, the Northern tradition was, as usual, followed.' Leaving aside other issues, this reply and the query raised by WINTERNITZ show the difference of

approach between the two. While SUKTHANKAR considers each case from fundamental principles, independently of other considerations such as a general theory of genetic relationship, etc., WINTERNITZ and other critics, in spite of their deep study of the Epic material are misled by general principles. If the Mbh. textual criticism is a problem *sui generis*, then the general principles are only guiding steps or corner stones; each case has to be seen from the configuration of Mss. used as evidence, and the general reliability of any set of Mss. is no guarantee that it contains the original or the more ancient reading. The above arguments have been reproduced here only to illustrate the mastery with which SUKTHANKAR worked with his material and his superiority in this line to every other scholar, which WINTERNITZ himself conceded to him.

While he was firm on matters the truth of which he had demonstrated himself entirely to his own satisfaction, SUKTHANKAR was always the first to admit any slip in his work. Thus at 1.218.27 the reading *vyātiṣṭhania* though supported by S, K₁, was not admitted into the text for that reason; it is a misprint, and SUKTHANKAR thanks WINTERNITZ for pointing it out.

During the following eight years SUKTHANKAR's whole life was practically devoted to contributions concerning the Epic. So far as the critical edition is concerned, the Virāṭaparvan by RAGHU VIRA was published in 1936, the Udyoga by S. K. DE in 1940 and the Vana— or the Āraṇyakaparvan in 1942. SUKTHANKAR's contribution to the first two as the General Editor is gratefully acknowledged by the Parvan Editors in their Introductions.⁶⁴ Every line of the text and the critical apparatus must have been passed by him, both in the press-copy and the printing stage.

Epic Studies V deals with the Mahābhārata Commentators.⁶⁵ It is divided into two sections. The first deals with chronological notes on the Mahābhārata scholiasts of whom nearly 22 are known by name. Very little is, however, known of all these commentators, and only a few of these *scholia* are available in print. By a gradual progression from the known to the unknown, SUKTHANKAR establishes the relative chronology of some of these commentators, and the final order as given by him is as follows: Devabodha-Vimalabodha-Sarvajña-Arjuna-Nilakanṭha, with Sarvajña's date limited to not later than 1300 A.D. whence it follows that Devabodha and Vimalabodha must have lived long prior to this date.

⁶⁴ Virāṭa Introd. and Udyoga Introd.

⁶⁵ *Annals BORI* 17.185-202.

The second part of this paper deals with the version of Devabodha. SUKTHANKAR was struck by disparity between the text of the Mbh. (C B or K) and the commentary; not only does this commentary contain words or expressions which do not occur at all in the Vulgate, but it also cites, at times, verses or stanzas which read differently in the Vulgate. Similarly one finds passages and adhyāyas of the Vulgate which are wholly uncommented by Devabodha. By a close inspection of Devabodha's text it is found that it agrees remarkably closely with Ś K sub-recension, particularly on the compelling evidence of the supplementary and entirely superfluous adhyāya at the end of the Ādi, being a repetition of the episode of Śvetaki's sacrifice occurring earlier, with the curious variant Śvetaketu for Śvetaki. That the version of Devabodha also contained this adhyāya is proved by his remark; *Śvetakīr eva Śvetaketur iti nāma*. This conclusion is also borne out by many other minor and major agreements which are enumerated in the paper.

The same year another paper, and this time a very important one, was published as the sixth in the series of Epic Studies under the special title: The Bhṛṅguś and the Bhārata: A text-historical Study.⁶⁶ The modest aim of this paper, as SUKTHANKAR expresses himself, is to collect and collate the Bhārgava references in the Mahābhārata, and to give a succinct account of all that the Great Epic has to say about these Bhṛṅguś. For the sake of convenience SUKTHANKAR studies these legends as they appear in their natural sequence in the Mbh. The results of this important text-critical study may be summarised in the author's own words:

From the legends preserved in our epic, the Bhārgavas appear to be a Brahmin clan more intimately associated with the ancient Kṣatriyas than most of the other Brahmin clans, connected with mostly by ties of marriage. In their conflicts with the Kṣatriyas they appear to the epic bards as inascible sages, domineering, arrogant, unbending and revengeful, but at the same time omnipotent supermen. The epic contains a number of episodes or *upākhyānas* and two independent sub-parvans of the epic the entire Pauloma and a large section of the Pauṣya, besides a number of discussions and discourses. There is frequent repetition of these legends on different occasions in the course of the epic. It is also to be noted that the Bhārgavas spring into this prominence all of a sudden

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 18.1-76.

in the Mbh. and there is no basis for this eminence in the earlier literature. Taking a collective view of all these legends and references, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the Bhārgava heroes occupy a surprisingly large portion of the canvass, filling up much of the available space in the background. Their figures are painted with a thick brush and in vivid colours. Their myths are uniformly distributed over the entire extent of the Great Epic, and throughout represented as *the* people.

The place occupied by these Bhārgava legends unmistakably shows the gradual 'bhṛguisation' of older legends, which occur in the epic itself in two forms, one with and the other without some important Bhārgava element. In the process of converting the popular epic of the Bhāratas into the *Encyclopædia Brahmanica*, the special predilection to the Bhārgava element is highly significant. Intrinsically there can be no question that this element is entirely foreign to the plan of the original saga or the Bhāratas, as it occurs entirely in the episodic material. According to tradition contained within the epic itself Vyāsa could not have been the author of these surreptitious additions and embellishments, nor could his disciple Vaiṣampāyana be credited with this particular work. But the next recorded recitation of the Mbh. is by Ugrasrvas in the presence of Bhārgava Śaunaka during the latter's twelve-year sacrifice. This lends colour to the hypothesis that the momentous alterations which have occurred in the Great Epic from Vyāsa's 24,000 to the later *śatoṇṇhasrī saṃhitā*, is due to the gradual 'bhṛguising' of the epic material. . . . The influence of the Bhārgavas in the narrative portion of Mbh. is very evident and can hardly be disputed. Their special connection with Dharma and Niti is also established by Śukra and Bhṛgu.

The infiltration of masses of Bhārgava material in the shape of Bhārgava myths and legends, the manner of its treatment, and even that strange admixture of the Epic with the Dharma and Niti elements, which latter especially has so long puzzled many inquirers into the genesis of the Mbh., thus appear to find a simple and straightforward explanation of an important unitary diachronism of the epic under very strong and direct Bhārgava influence. The process of expansion thus begun must have continued subsequently, first by the Bhārgavas themselves and later under their supervision, and it is likely that the remodelled Bhārata, like the Vedas, now elevated to the rank of the Fifth Veda, must have remained for some time in the exclusive possession of the Bhārgavas as their close literary preserve. This fact would explain the apparent homogeneous character of this heterogeneous mass. It all came from different hands, from out of the same mould. The colossal success of this Bhārgava recension of the ancient Epic of the Bhāratas—a success which in one sense was richly deserved—was the cause of the neglect and subsequent disappearance of the original heroic poem, which must have still existed at the time of composition of the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.

It will thus be noticed that this text-critical study has lifted a corner of the veil which covers the hoary history of the text of the Great Epic. SUKTHANKAR thereby established a possible ground for explaining all the contradictory facts connected with the growth and development of the Mbh. The response to this theory was immediate and has led to further investigations which have added to the expectations raised by SUKTHANKAR when he closed this paper with the words : 'The further we pursue the study of the traces of Bhārgava influence the clearer, it seems to me, will become the history of our Mahābhārata, the Great Epic of Bhāratavarṣa.'

The only recorded paper by SUKTHANKAR for 1937 is the In Memoriam Professor Moritz Winternitz (1863-1937).⁶⁷ It is really a brief *résumé* of the Mahābhārata work that WINTERNITZ did for nearly half a century, and is altogether one of the best obituary notices on the lamented Professor.

It is, therefore, a matter of great regret that WINTERNITZ passed away before a discovery of capital importance for Mahābhārata studies was accidentally made by Manyavara Gururji HEMARAJ Panditjiu, the distinguished Director of Public Instruction of Nepal, of a new Nepālī Ms. of the Ādiparvan. The manner of its discovery and its importance is described in Epic Studies VII: The Oldest Extant Ms. of the Ādiparvan.⁶⁸ The Rajaguru sent complete collations and specimen photos for the use of the Institute. The Ms. is on palm-leaf, written in a uniform hand in old faded ink, and contains only the first parvan of the Mbh. The average length of the folio is 21" × 2½" and each folio contains uniformly 7 lines of writing. Although the Ms. is not dated, its old appearance and the script which comes closest to the script of Tafel VI, No. XI (Cambridge Ms. No. 1891, 2 of A.D. 1179) authenticate the high antiquity claimed for it. This is also supported by internal evidence; the best proof is that it is almost entirely free from those modern accretions which are given in Appendix I of the Ādiparvan Volume, as also in great part from those other smaller insertions which are listed in the foot-notes. More astonishing still is the fact that out of the textual emendations hazarded by SUKTHANKAR, fifty per cent. are

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 19. 201-62.

actually documented by this Ms. As SUKTHANKAR remarks:⁶⁹

It is therefore no exaggeration to say that this remarkable Ms. opportunely affords welcome support to the Critical Edition in most crucial matters. Moreover many of the variant readings of the new Ms. are difficult and obscure, marking out its text as distinctly archaic. Finally, in many of its readings it agrees fairly closely with a certain other Ms. from Nepal which is symbolized as \tilde{N}_3 in the critical apparatus of the *Ādi.* and which is again the oldest dated Ms. of the *Ādiparvan.* The tradition is therefore fairly complete and well attested.

The greatest value of this Ms. lies in its corroboration of the constituted text of the Critical Edition. Indirectly it attests and justifies, as an independent witness, the principles according to which the reconstruction of the epic text is achieved, thus placing the constituted text on still surer foundations.

One phase of SUKTHANKAR's triumph consisted in converting his erst-while critics into staunch supporters and followers of the methods and principles evolved by him. The discovery of this important Ms. is the second phase and the culminating point for the full vindication of the Critical Edition of SUKTHANKAR. This fortunate discovery has set the final seal of approval on his editorial work.

Although this Ms. is practically free from the long and short insertions of the Vulgate, it is not entirely devoid of small infiltrations as SUKTHANKAR demonstrates, such as App. I, Nos. 12, 33 and 58 and over 87 single-line insertions. All these are uniformly found in the majority of N Mss. It also throws an interesting side light on the indirect way in which the text gets gradually inflated. Its superiority over \tilde{N}_3 is proved by its lacking about ninety per cent. of the insertions of \tilde{N}_3 . The unique readings of this Ms. bear out nearly half the emendations made by SUKTHANKAR in his constituted text. Out of the total 36 emendations made 18 are corroborated by this Ms. Of these 13 are cases of hiatus. It was precisely on this point that A. B. KEITH differed from SUKTHANKAR when he said: 'We need not, therefore, accept as a necessarily correct theory the view that we are to restore hiatuses, whenever we find variants in the Ms., which might be explained by assuming that they are the efforts made by scribes, who were not accustomed to hiatus to remedy the irregularity.' SUKTHANKAR's reply is characteristic: 'Whether the said view represents a correct theory of Mbh. text-reconstruction or not may be best judged from the circumstance that out of eighteen emendations which are actually documented and attested by this new Ms., not less than thirteen were made just on the ground of hiatus.'

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 19.

The whole of the subsequent discussion is taken up with replying to KEITH's criticism. This paper marks the close of a period and shows the vast difference that exists between the mastery of SUKTHANKAR and the general acquaintance of others with epic material. One need only remember the force of the following words recorded in the *Prolegomena*, to understand the gulf that existed between the attainment of the General Editor and the critical reader, including the learned reviewers:⁷⁰

Another high authority, while full of apparent admiration for the way in which the work is being done at present at the Institute, has with much pathos and eloquence deprecated this hastily prepared, eclectic text. All that we need do at present, according to this scholar, is to reprint the Vulgate, giving merely the *variae lectiones* of the manuscripts collated and leaving each individual reader to constitute his own text unhampered and uninfluenced by the obtrusive personality of some editor who stands like a monitor between the reader and his author. The learned critic is evidently of opinion that any average reader, who picks up an edition of the Great Epic for casual study is better qualified to reconstruct the text than the editor who has made a special study of the problem. But we need not take it too seriously.

The rest of this passage is unapproachable for the dignified manner in which this learned authority and others like him are admonished, and is worth reading by all those who have any doubts about the scientific background of the critical edition. For even the best of critics like WINTERNITZ who had devoted almost 50 years of his life to the problems connected with the Great Epic has been proved by the evidence of this unique Nepali Ms. to have been wrong in his differences with SUKTHANKAR. In 12 places where he objected to the text of the critical edition, the text is supported by the documentary evidence of this Ms.⁷¹ No one doubts now that the discovery of this valuable Ms., so consequential for the text-criticism of the *Ādiparvan*, would certainly have delighted the heart of this veteran scholar, who took a passionate and life-long interest in epic studies. All the criticism of so accute a scholar as KEITH is slashingly but with scholarly dignity answered point by point, with the incontrovertible evidence of this unique Ms.

It is no wonder, therefore, when recently Franklin EDGERTON wrote:⁷²

March 1, 1943.

I have just received the news of the death of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR. It is not only a very grave personal loss to me; I counted him one of my best friends, and had come to feel a very deep respect and even affection for him as a man.

⁷⁰ *Prolegomena*, p. LXXXIII.

⁷¹ *Annals BORI* 19.

⁷² *Ibid.* 24, 136.

But the loss to scholarship is immeasurable, and, naturally, far more important. *I am appalled at the thought that it will now be necessary to entrust the Mahābhārata edition to others.* Few persons now living are as well gifted by nature as he was with the peculiar combination of intellectual qualities needed for this work. And literally not one has had the experience which he had, and which is second in importance only to that native ability. He had arrived at a point where so many things had become almost automatic to him, like second nature; things which even those of us who have helped in the edition cannot control as he did, though we may have painfully struggled towards an approximation of a few of them. Now, just when he could have exploited to the full this unique combination of knowledge and experience—*jñānam sa vijñānam*—he is cut off in the midst of it.

No higher tribute can be paid to a genius who was unique in his field and unrivalled for his courtesy to those who differed from him.

The paper referred to above was published during 1938. In 1939 he contributed a paper on the Nala episode and the Rāmāyaṇa⁷³ in which he conclusively shows that the Sudeva soliloquy in the Nalopākhyāna of the Mbh. must necessarily have been borrowed by one of the redactors of the Great Epic from the Rāmāyaṇa, since the passage in question is a misfit in the Mbh. context. It is shown that this Nala passage is not the only passage for which a parallel exists in the Rāmāyaṇa and in the parvan-survey SUKTHANKAR refers to the Rāmopākhyāna occurring in the Vana— or Āraṇyakaparvan. This topic is, however, taken up for a separate study as the last of the Epic studies, published during 1940.⁷⁴ Here SUKTHANKAR's researches confirm JACOBI's assumption that the Rāmopākhyāna is indeed an epitome of the work commonly known as Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa.

Just as SUKTHANKAR's studies in Bhāsa were based both on first-hand acquaintance with original as well as critical material, the latter of which he included in a special bibliography, so also in the case of his epic studies, he had started compiling a card index of all articles, notes, pamphlets monographs and books dealing critically with epic questions. The index so prepared by SUKTHANKAR is still lying at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, and has incidentally paved the way for PUSALKER's, survey of Epic and Puranic Studies published in the *Progress of Indic Studies*. This bibliography, though probably not quite complete, is yet indispensable to critical scholars dealing with the Great Epic.

⁷³ A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to Prof. F. W. THOMAS,

⁷⁴ P. V. Kane Festschrift.

In spite of his preoccupation with all this great work SUKTHANKAR never limited his interests ; during 1933-34 he delivered a series of lectures under the auspices of the University of Bombay as the Wilson Philological Lecturer under the title ' Life and Growth of Languages '. Under the new arrangements for postgraduate instruction in Poona he continued to guide M.A. students in Ancient Indian Culture, delivering weekly lectures in the Institute. He was several times Sectional President at the All-India Oriental Conference. During the last of these occasions, in 1940, he allowed his address to be published in the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*,⁷⁵ and any one reading it is struck at once by his lively spirit and freshness of approach which always kept him alive to new ideas and impressions.

Two short papers were contributed by SUKTHANKAR under the general title EPIC QUESTIONS. The first of these is the opening article in the first volume of the *Bulletin* of this Institute and is connected with the reading *Hāsyarūpeṇa Śaṅkaraḥ* as opposed to *hamsarūpeṇa cēśvaraḥ* of the Vulgate.⁷⁶ The paper itself has the sub-title : Does Indra assume the form of a swan ? The paper conclusively proves that the *hansa* incarnation of Indra is nothing but a canard. The second of the series is, unfortunately, the last paper to be published by SUKTHANKAR, and deals once again with the Parvasaṅgraha figures.⁷⁷ It is an interesting contribution and deserves careful reading by a critical scholar who would like to deal with Mbh. textual criticism.

The short introduction to the *Āraṇyakaparvan* is very interesting and instructive. Dated in August 1942, it contains however his experience of the past seventeen years of work on the Critical Edition. As a result the language clearly expresses the fundamental principles, which may be quoted here just to show the way in which he was making himself approachable to a larger group of scholars who are not specialists :⁷⁸

When the Śaradā-K version (which is the best Northern version) and the Southern recension are placed *vis-à-vis*, we can in general reconstruct the original with confidence, barring a certain number of minor verbal fluctuations in the shape of synonymous phrasings, which remain indeterminate without affecting the construction or obscuring

⁷⁵ BV 3. It is reprinted again in the *Proc. and Trans. of the All-Indi. Or. Conf. Tirupati*, pp. 593-609.

⁷⁶ *Bull DCRI* 1. 1-7.

⁷⁷ *Silver Jubilee Volume of Annals BORI* 23.

⁷⁸ Introduction, p. xviii.

the sense. The concord between Śāradā-K version and the Southern recension in point of general content is striking and forms a sure basis for constituting a single text. Contamination between the K version and the S recension cannot be proved, but contamination between the B-D version and the S recension is not impossible. The agreements between the B-D and S recension have nevertheless been as a rule utilized to arrive at a tentative stop-gap, based on the indications of documental evidence. But it should be noted that the K-S agreements have far greater documental authority and probative value than the B-D-S agreements.

Let me put the matter in a slightly different way. The highest documental probability we can demand and expect is when all Mss. of our critical apparatus—which is the same as saying, all our different versions—agree on a reading or a feature. We must accept this as the original, *at least we do not wish to question it, at present*. In the absence of such complete concord, the next best combination is the agreement between the Śāradā version and the Southern recension (against B-D). Third in importance is, in my opinion, the concord between the Southern recension and the Bengali-cum-Devanāgarī version (against the Śāradā). Fourth in order stands the agreement between only Northern versions or only Southern versions *inter se*, which I consider, in general, as of equal value. With the proviso that a passage, or a stanza or even a little line which is not necessary to the context, may be rejected, if it is actually omitted entirely in even one of the important versions, since as experience has shown, the chances of conflation are always very much greater than those of accidental or intentional omission.

The italicised words will indicate a new phase that was gradually coming over SUKTHANKAR. While still interested in the Critical Edition of the Great Epic to which he had devoted the best part of his life, he was slowly being drawn towards the content of the Mbh., not as it was in the constituted text only, but in the entire Mss. tradition. There was a double approach to this problem, or to be more precise, a threefold approach; in the first place the mass of accretion, interpolation, conflation, etc. was symptomatic of a certain phase in the life of the nation where the original text grew into these gigantic proportions. Then again there was a central theme which was pervading the whole of the epic and around which it moved. And finally there was the question of higher criticism, which could come in only after lower criticism had done its work properly.

When SUKTHANKAR says: 'at least we do not wish to question it, at present', he indicates thereby the possibility of going behind this constituted text—although a distant possibility—and of arriving at the

original. But then whether an objective method could be devised for such a restoration depended entirely on certain other studies which were being attempted at this time. What is the genesis of the significant variant readings in the Mbh. textual tradition? Could they be fixed in their space-time context, and thereby explain the local divergences in their temporal evolution? And if this were possible, could we get behind the constituted text, especially when it was less than certain, and arrive at a more certain text? By mere objective criteria could we devise methods which would enable us to analyse the elements which were welded into that great synthesis which is the Mahābhārata?

Great things were in the offing when SUKTHANKAR penned these paragraphs. His lectures on the three-dimensional view of the Great Epic⁷⁹ were assuming their final shape at this time; a good deal of work was being done in the statistical analysis of the significant Mbh. variants.⁸⁰ What the results of all these combined studies would have been, it is too premature to say. But that tragic death which cut short his life when he was at the very height of his powers and on the verge of discovering new domains in the critical study of the Epic has dealt an irreparable blow to further research in these directions.

On the 21st of January 1943, just two weeks after the Silver Jubilee function of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute had been celebrated, he laid down his mortal coil in the service of the Great Epic of the Bhāratas.

In writing this epilogue to a full life of research where the highest reaches of knowledge possible for a human being were attained by SUKTHANKAR, one is poignantly reminded of the concluding part of the Introduction which reads like a farewell.⁸¹ But SUKTHANKAR's voice will continue to draw the best scholars to a study of the Great Epic

⁷⁹ Two of these lectures were actually delivered before the University of Bombay on 8th and 15th January 1943. The third was due on 22nd January, and the audience was actually waiting for him when the news of his death reached Bombay on that day.

⁸⁰ A discussion of these problems was to take place on 21st January 1943 between the writer and Dr. SUKTHANKAR, and the last note which he wrote on 20th January 1943 was to fix the appointment from the 20th to the 21st January, as the facsimile of this note reproduced here indicates.

⁸¹ Many scholars have expressed this view in their letters to the Honorary Secretary of the SUKTHANKAR Memorial Edition Committee.

which has now become the great epic of SUKTHANKAR's own life. This paper can only be concluded fittingly in his last public utterance, at Poona the inspiring words of which still continue to ring in the ears of those who listened to him on that unforgettable 5th January 1943.⁸²

'There is a danger that in our pseudo-scientific mood we may be tempted to discard this great book, thinking that we have outgrown it. That would be capital blunder: That would in fact mean nothing but an indication of our will to commit suicide, national suicide, the signal of our national extinction. For never was truer word spoken than when the late German Indologist Herman OLDENBERG said that "in the Mahābhārata breathe the united soul of India, and the individual souls of her people." And why is that? Because the Mahābhārata is the national *saga* of India. It is, in other words, the content of our collective unconscious. And just for that reason it refuses to be discarded. We must therefore grasp this great book with both hands and face it squarely. Then we shall recognize that it is our past which has prolonged itself into the present. *We are it!* I mean the real WE! Shall we be guilty of strangling our own soul? NEVER.'

December 1943.

S. M. KATRE.

⁸² *Annals BORI* 24.

EPIC STUDIES : SECOND SERIES

By

PROF. F. EDGERTON

[The following formed part of Professor EDGERTON's Introduction to the Critical Edition of the *Sabhāparvan*, prepared by him for the B. O. R. Institute. Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, the General Editor, had suggested, and Prof. EDGERTON agreed, that it should be published separately. Accordingly, the same is being included here under the heading "Epic Studies", and it is designated "Second Series" to distinguish it from the "First Series" of eight papers contributed by Dr. SUKTHANKAR under the same heading.]

NO. 1 : GRAMMAR AND SYNTAX

(In the *Sabhāparvan*)

Here will be noted such grammatical phenomena as seem to me worthy of attention for any reason. Doubtless the list could be extended. Certainly I have made no attempt to list all forms which are contrary to the rules of Pāṇini, as I daresay my choice is somewhat subjective. Not all the cases are exclusively "epic". But all seem to me of enough interest, on the ground of rarity or irregularity, to deserve at least brief mention.

Samdhi.

Hiatus between vowels occurs especially between halves of the same line, that is, between separate pādas. Strictly speaking, from the standpoint of the original composition, this should doubtless not be considered hiatus, since each pāda was no doubt a separate unit of speech, closing with a pause, as was certainly the case in the Veda. Yet the cases are not numerous; and in many, perhaps most, of them attempts are made in various Mss. to bridge the hiatus by different changes. The 18 cases noted are: *ca āmantrya* 2.8cd; *ca ugrasenaś* 4.19ab; *karmāṇi aṣṭau* 5.12cd; *panyāni upadhābhīr* 5.104cd; *ca ṛtavah* 11.27cd; *sarve ācāryapramukhā* 31.6ab; *ca ṛddhyā* 32.13cd; *sarve abhyagacchan* 40.11cd; *hanti abhimānaś* 45.14ab; *ca abhitaḥ* 48.19cd; *ca abhyagacchan* 48.32ef; *tasya anuṣṇāṣaṁ* 49.6ab; *ca ubhe* 55.13cd; *yājñaseni ekāmbarā* 60.27ab; *vācā anuṣṇāṣā* 61.33ab; *te ariṣṭaṁ* 65.2ab; *bharataśreṣṭha* (probably voc., less likely, nom.) *idaṁ* 66.3cd; *sajane aṣṇāṣāḥ* 66.19ab, repeated 67.10ab.

In the interior of pādas I have noted only eight cases : *saha āsate* 4.7b ; *pramlocā urvaśī irā* (twice) 10.11b ; *kṛtavamā anādhṛstīh* 13.57c ; *naiva rivīh* 34.10a ; *ekavastīā adhonivī* 60.15a ; *trayaḥ kileme adhanā bhavanti* 63.1a (at the cesura in a triṣṭubh) ; *śadā uttamapūruṣāh* 65.8d. Again the Mss. frequently try to bridge the hiatus by secondary changes.

Secondary crasis or double sandhi.

pauṇḍrako vāsudeveti 13.19c, for °deva[h] iti.
haṁseti dibhakeṭi ca 20.31b, for haṁsa[h] iti dibhaka[h] iti.
sendrāpi devā 60.30d, for sendrā[h] api.
codyamānāpi 61.28b, for codyamānā[h] api.
esa vai dāsaputreti, 63.29c, for dāsaputra[h] iti.

Initial ā absorbed (*abhinīhita*) after final e or o :

brahmaṇo 'jñām 20.34c.
rdhyato 'tmānam 45.16c.
te 'tmānam 68.8c.

There is little else that concerns phonology. Three times a feminine ī-stem in composition has the final ī shortened, in places where metre requires, or at least favours, a short. While these might also be considered morphological changes (shift from ī to i declensional type), they are doubtless primarily phonetic : *devakīnandana* (for *devakī^o*), 22.31b and 56b, both times at the end of a śloka ; in this position a long syllable is never tolerated. — *gāndhāriputrasya* 63.19c, at the beginning of a triṣṭubh, the third syllable of which is regularly short when the cesura is postponed, being prevailingly long only when the cesura follows the fourth syllable (JAOS 59.163). Here to be sure we have one of the rare cases in which the cesura follows the sixth syllable. But they seem to tend to follow the quantitative scheme of those with cesura after the fifth ; certainly not of those with early cesura. The shortening of ī is probably to be considered metrical.

An extraordinary case of *haplogy* has been assumed, not without some misgivings, in 18.3b *cāvayorjunah*, for *cāvayor arjunah* ; see note on the passage in Addenda.

Morphology

A few stray matters concerning noun and pronoun inflection :

The nom. pl. of an i-stem is used as accus. in 48.9d *rāsayah* (for *rāsīn*).

The nom. pl. of the stem *ap* is used as accus. in 49:8d *āpah* (for *apah*).

From a masculine *in*-stem we have a curious accus. sg. in *-ām*, based on proportional analogy, after the nom. in *-i* (following the feminine *i*-declension !): *prātikāmīm* 60.1c.

The stem *śṛṅga* has masculine gender, instead of the regular neuter, in 19.18b *śṛṅgaṃ sumahāntaṃ* (accus. sg.).—Similarly *caila*, regularly neuter, is masculine at 47.3a.

The stem *daivata* "deity" is regularly neuter; masculine gender is authorised for it lexically, but has not been discovered in literary occurrences. In 5.90b it seems to be masculine.

The dative form *mahyam* is prakritically used as genitive, instead of *mama*, in 70.20c: *jīvitapriyatām mahyaṃ dhig imāṃ kṣēṣabhāginīm*, "fie upon this my love of life, which has resulted in affliction!" It would seem forced and improbable to construe the form as dependent on *kṣēṣabhāginīm*, "which has resulted in affliction for me", in view of the position of the word.

Verb forms in this book have more interest than noun forms.

We find first a considerable number of unaugmented preterites, nearly all imperfects, but one aorist (the last in the list). Naturally many Mss. usually remove the irregularity; but there is little doubt that in most cases the original contained it: *jñāpayat* 12.34d; *prajāyētām* 16.34c; *abhiśīcatām* 16.49d; *samaracayan* and *kurvan* 19.20b and 20c; *grhṇīta* 19.43c; *pratiṅghāma* 19.50c (probably imperf. rather than present with secondary ending, cf. below); *bhrāmayad* 22.5c; *upayād* 27.14d; *kurutām* 40.2d; *icchat* 41.3d; *samanuvrajan* 42.40d; *sabhājayata* 42.52d (from the quotation in PW, it would appear that the imperfect forms of this peculiar denominative are regularly unaugmented); *pariṅghātām* 46.33c; *prayacchetām* 48.42a; *vibrūta* 61.52c; *gamayad* 66.4c; *vyavaśṛyanta* 72.22c; *anuñāśiṣam* 72.26d.

Irregularities of personal endings also occur. Especially frequent is confusion of the primary 1 plural ending *-mas* with the secondary (also perfect, and subjunctive-imperative) ending *-ma*. Thus we find *-mas* in the perfect *śuśrumah* 14.11f, 16.2d, 64.1d; in the optative *kurvāmas* 58.27c; and in the subj.-impv. *karavāmas* 65.1a. Contrariwise, we find present or future forms in *-ma*: *icchāma* 6.17c; *sādhayisyāma* 18.3c; *nihanma* 19.11d; *arcāma* 35.11b; *raṃsyāma* 42.49b; *sma* 52.10d (not at all likely to be the particle *sma* in my opinion). In a few of these, notably *nihanma* and *arcāma*, metre would make the regular form

impossible in the present position of the word. On the other hand, several of the forms occur at the end of lines, where obviously metre could not be concerned.

The properly secondary ending *-dhvam*, of the 2 pl. middle, is thrice used with presents: *manyadhvam* 20.2b; *jānīdhvam* 34.3a; *vivadadhvam* 63.17b.

Strong and weak present stem-forms are interchanged, strong being used for weak in *bravīhi* 22.34b and 25.13c, and weak for strong in *ādadmi* 20.25b.

Unusual present stem formations: *prayujmahe* 35.15d (vedic), — *pratyapiṣan* 42.27b (*apiṣan* AV., WHITNEY, *Roots*). — *kr̥ndhi*, 2 sg. inv. of *kr̥* "cut", 64.10d (quite without recorded analogy; I suspect influence of *kr̥dhi* from *kr̥*, regarded as an aorist, see below). — *vitandāḥ* 33.4d, pres. mid. pple, "disputing", cf. *vitandā*, noun; the *Dhātup.* has *tanḍate* (thematic I) "strike". — *archati* (for *rcchati*) 19.46b. Thematic (1st class) present forms of *dā* (perhaps hardly worth noting since they are familiar from the Veda onwards); *adadad* 48.22c; *ādadeyam* 71.17a.

Future: *glahīsyati*, from *glah* "play at dice", apparently *hapax legomenon*, but obviously based on the analogy of *grahīsyati* from *grah*.

Perfect, without reduplication, *pravepāte* 16.35d (cf. RENOU, *Gr. Scie.*, §333c).

Aorist: *kr̥dhi* 60.30b, and *kr̥thāḥ* 40.22d, 53.5d, 65.10d (always with *mā*). Also with *mā*, *majjāḥ* 55.9d; *kopiṣṭhāḥ* 59.3c; and *khanīḥ* 59.8d.

Active endings with clearly and definitely passive forms: *dahyanti* 28.22d; *dhmāyati* 45.30d; *dṛśyāmi* 62.5d. Other violations of Pāṇinian rules regarding *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* endings in particular roots are so frequent in the epic that it has not seemed necessary to list them.

Gerunds. The ending *-tvā* is applied to roots compounded with preverbs or other elements, not only causatives and denominatives in *-aya-* (where it is specially frequent, see EDGERTON, *Language*, 13.108), as in *nivartayitvā* 2.20a, but also in *ādikṛtvā* 52.17d, and *abhyutsamayitvā* 63.12a. In the last we have the further irregularity that the gerund is based on the present stem, not on the root, as regularly in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and Pāli-Prakrit (see *ibid* 111).

Contrariwise, simple roots may take the suffix *-ya*, which belongs regularly to compounds. Thus *grhya* 3.3c; 17.4c; 46.25d; *pūjya* 42.38c; and *vācya* 2.11a; 23.6a; 42.53d; 52.34d. This last is always preceded by *svasti*, which however must be regarded as a separate word, not as compounded with the following form of *vac-*, since it is sometimes separated from it by other words.

One alleged infinitive form, the monstrously impossible *ījitum* occurring in the vulgate for our *ihitum* 30. 26c, and hence quoted in our grammars and dictionaries, must now be rejected from the text; see my note ad loc. in Addenda.

An irregular causative form *dīkṣ* occurs in 30.21a *dīkṣāpaya*. It is the only form of its kind cited in PW from this root.

Syntax

A few stray cases will be mentioned of syntactic constructions which seem worthy of note.

An absolute, or semi-absolute genitive (cf. SPEYER, *VSS.* §212) seems to be found in 34.13:

asya dharmapravṛttasya pāṛthivatvaṃ cikīrṣataḥ
kaṇān asmai prayacchāmaḥ so 'yaṃ asmān na manyate.

"Since he was proceeding according to dharma and was desirous of effecting kingship, we give tribute to him, but he does not respect us." The genitives may be felt as more or less depending on *prayacchāmaḥ*; but the occurrence of the dative form *asmāi*, "to him" just before this verb, makes such a construction at least harsh.

In 41.22, 23 and 25 (essentially one case, the two latter patterned after the first), I see no way of construing the genitives except as absolute:

icchataḥ sā hi siṃhasya bhīṣma jīvaty asaṃśayam.
icchatām pāṛthivendrāṇām bhīṣma jīvasy asaṃśayam.
icchatām kila nāmāhaṃ jivāmy eṣām malūkṣitām.

A genitive with the force of an ablative (SPEYER *VSS.* §73) is apparently used in 13.43c: *soapuraṃ śūrasenānām prayayau*, "he went from the Śūrasena country to his own city."

In 4.4c, *kuruśreṣṭho* seems to be a "nominative pendens", without grammatical construction.

A vocative appears to be used with a third-person verb in 6.2a; *bhagavān nyāyam āhaitam*: see note ad loc. in Addenda.

A singular verb occurs with a following dual subject in 5.106d *dyute madhusarpiṣī*, but the case is peculiar; see note ad loc. in Addenda.—In 6.18d many Mss., including Ś₁ and K₁₋₃ read *śrūyatām...sabhāh*, a singular verb with a following plural subject. I am still not sure that this reading should not be adopted; but it must be admitted that it would be very bizarre, and I have finally adopted the variant *śrūyanām*.

In 66.3|cd occurs an example of *mā* with the future: *mā..... bhaviṣyasi*, "lest you become....."

Twice, in 67.5d and 15d, occurs the optative form *iyāt* with the sense of a preterite; see note ad loc. in Addenda and references there quoted.

Noteworthy is the occurrence of the enclitic *enam* (documented uniformly by all Mss. without exception) at the beginning of a pāda in 17.15a.

No. 2: METRE

(In the *Sabhāparvan*)

There are no prose passages in the *Sabhāparvan*. There is a single verse (38.40) composed in the metre called *halamukhī*, which consists of four pādas each with the scheme — — — — — — — —. There are 151 triṣṭubh-jagatī stanzas, one of which contains six pādas. The rest, 2238 in all, are anuṣṭubh or "epic śloka"; 82 of these contain three lines or six pādas.

As to the structure of the śloka stanzas, I have nothing to add in principle to HOPKINS's treatment in *The Great Epic*. It seems worth while, however, to list the few hypermetric śloka pādas which occur. They all belong to the regular type treated by HOPKINS l. c. 252; the added syllable appears invariably as one of two initial shorts, and the first five syllables are always — — — — —, without regard to the character of the cadence. All occur in the first half of their respective lines, never in the second.

- anugamyamānaḥ śuśubhe*, 2.17c.
- ghṛtapāyasena madhunā*, 4.2a.
- virajomharaś citimāḷyo*, 7.5c.
- uditir ditiḥ danuś caiva*, 11.29a.
- vyajayad dhanamjayo rājan*, 24.11c.
- upanīyamānaṃ yuktam ca*, 33.26c.
- upagīyamānā nārībhir*, 52.35c.
- vidvādayaś ca tām ārtām*, 70.22a.
- siṅgātā vapan savyasācī*, 71.4a and 14c.

As to the triṣṭubh-jagatī stanzas, I may refer to my article on "The epic triṣṭubh and its hypermetric varieties", *JAOS* 59. (1939) 159-174. I have shown there that epic triṣṭubh-jagatī lines generally belong to two radically different types, to one (the older) of which belong all those which occur in the *Sabhāparvan*. (The *locus classicus* for the other, younger type is the *Virāṭaparvan*, where it occurs exclusively; but *Ādi* and *Udyoga* also contain some examples) The regular (non-hypermetric) triṣṭubhs of *Sabhā* are divisible into two sub-divisions, those which have the cesura after the fourth syllable, and those which have it after the fifth. The latter are much less numerous than the former. The quantitative schemes of the two sub-types differ rather strikingly (*l.c.* 163). There are also some few lines which have cesura after the sixth syllable, or which seem to have no cesura at all.

In this same article I also analysed and classified the hypermetric triṣṭubh-jagatī pādas, showing that they fall into three classes, the first being much the commonest. This most important type consists of a combination of a first half-pāda of five syllables, appropriate to the "later" cesura (after the fifth syllable), with a second half-pāda of seven syllables, appropriate to the "earlier" cesura (after the fourth), thus making twelve syllables in all in a triṣṭubh line (one more in a jagatī). This type is a Vedic inheritance. It occurs in the *Sabhāparvan* 46 times. The first occurrence is 51.11a:—

anartham arthaṃ manyase rājaputra.

The others are: 51.12a, 14c, 17a, 24a; 52.1c, 5a, 9d, 13b, 16b, 17c; 56.1b, c, 6c, 8d; 57.1a, 2c, d, 6a, b, c, 7a, c, 8b, 12c, d; 58.20b, 24a; 59.8b; 60.1b, 2a, 4c, 12c; 62.25c; 63.1c, 2a, 6d, 16b, 19b, 20a, 22b, 24a, 26c; 68.7a, 10b, 19c.

The other two types are based on substitution of two short syllables for a long, either in one of the syllables in the middle of the line following the cesura after the fourth syllable (Type II, subdivided into three classes), or in the first syllable of the line (Type III). All the examples of these types are quoted and analysed *l.c.* 168 ff. Here I shall merely list the cases which occur: Type II (a), 56.7d; (b), 52.16a, 63.3b, 17a; (c), 57, 12b. Type III, 63.3c.

No. 3 : VOCABULARY (SABHĀPARVAN)

The following list is intended to contain all words, including proper names, which (as far as appears) are peculiar to this book, or nearly so.

Most of them seem not to be recorded, in the aenses found here, outside of this book. Some few appear elsewhere, but rarely; these are included because of their rarity or problematic character. Some are recorded in the lexicon of BÖHTLINGK and ROTH (which is abbreviated PW), but only from this book. Some others are there represented by different words, because the reading of the vulgate (Calcutta and Bombay editions) is different from ours. In these latter cases, as a rule, I quote the vulgate reading after that of our text. The majority of the words here listed are proper names, personal, mythical, or geographical. For many of these the Mss. offer variants, sometimes in large number; but in this list only the form adopted in the text is given, even when it is much less than certain.

aṅgaśūda, n. of a yakṣa, 10.16c.
anantadanta, n. of a r̥ṣi, 7.12c.
aniketa, n. of a yakṣa, 10.17c.
anūṣa, pl. n. or epithet of a people, 47.15c.
anukarsa, some part of a wagon, 49.6b (see comm's glosses).
-anukarṣaṇ, "bringing along with"?, 9.7b (see note in Addenda).
anupātin, "having consequences, leading to" (+ dat.), 56.1a.
anuprasāra, "one who investigates searchingly", 5.29c.
anupriya, "friendly disposed", 5.63b; 57.16a, 17b.
anubala, "of reduced, meagre strength", 16.6a.
anuvārṣa, "(men) of subordinate castes" (?) 58.5c.
anusaṁhā, "army-follower", 23.14d.
**anūāhī*, "Antioch" (?), 28.49a (see note in Addenda).
apācūsa, "contrary, ill-omened", 72.8d.
apauhaniya, n. of a r̥ṣi, 4.10c.
abhūṣaṭi, n. of a city, 24.18a.
abhyutamatyutā, gerund, 63.12a (see under Grammar, p.4; PW records only ppl.
abhyutamayut from this verb).
uriprasūda, n. of a king, 8.9a.
uravarasa, n. of a r̥ṣi, 4.9c.
āsvamedhesvara, n. of a king, 26.8a.
astacandraśa, "having the form of the eight-day-old moon, half-moon shaped", 66.14b (cf. *aśṭamicandra* in SCHMIDT's *Nachtrags* to PW.)

asti, n. of a daughter of Jarāśampdha, 13.30a.
asnikṛta, "selfishness, selfish act", 61.10a.
ākhaṣa, n. of a king, 31.11c.
ākṣepa, "throw (of dice)", 58.30d (cf. *samukṣepa*).
āyīmāpdyva, n. of a r̥ṣi, 4.10d (see Addenda).
āśāvya, n. of a r̥ṣi, 7.16d.
āstāra, "place on which the dice are thrown", 51.3d (see Addenda).
āhṛti, n. of a prince, 4.27a, 13.21a; 28.39a (vulg. *ākṛti* always).
indrakṛśa, "plowed by Indra, growing wild", 47.9a.
indraparvata, n. of a mountain, 27.13b.
ira, n. of an apsaras, 10.11b.
īra, n. of a princely family, 8.22b.
uttama, n. of a people, 27.3b.
uttara, n. of a people, 27.3b.
uttarajyotiṣa, n. of a place, 29.10c (vulg. *°jyotiṣa*).
udarka, an uncertain part of a palace, 32.12b.
unnāṣa, n. of a mountain or country, 27.5c (vulg. *bhallāṣa*).
upakṛta, n. of a tribe, 28.43b.
upadesa, "neighbouring territory", 27.9c.
upāsāṅga, "quiver", 49.9a.
uraga, n. of a city, 24.18c.
ūsudgova, n. of a king, 8.23a.
ṛta, "righteous", 31.7c (in this sense, of persons, recorded only as Vedic).
eṭapāda, pl. n. of a people, 28.47a; 47.16a.
ṛkapūṣaka = preceding, 47.18d.
ekāśanājyoha, pl. n. of (one or two) people (s), 48.3a.

- ada*, "made of (the skin of) the animal called *ada* (usually *elaka*)", 47.3a.
- ostarakanyaka*, pl. n. of a people, 28.48d. (vulg. *ustā^a*).
- audambai*, pl. n. of a people, 48.12c.
- avṣṭa*, pl. n. (or epithet) of a people, 47.15c.
- kamala*, n. of a king, 4.19c.
- kampana*, n. of a king, 4.19f.
- karavat*, "by way of tribute", 25.15d.
- karahātaka*, n. of a king (or place), 28.47d.
- karkā*, n. of a *vi*, 4.15c.
- kālabha*, n. or epithet of a king, 13.12b (vulg. *kāroṭha*).
- kāṭapa*, n. of a *vi*, 4.15f.
- kōṭeraka*, n. of a yakṣa, 10.15a.
- kāva*, n. of a *Viśv*, 13.58a (vulg. *kaṇka*, see Addenda).
- kākṣiṇa*, = *van*, n. of a *vi*, 19.5d.
- kāca*, n. of a king, 27.22d.
- kāmyaka*, n. of a lake, 48.19d.
- kāyava*, n. of a people, 48.12a.
- kōra*, "tribute" = *kata*, (recorded only lexically) in *ḥita-ḥūra*, 48.18c.
- kōṣṭhika*, title of an official who trained princes and warriors in science, 5.23a.
- kāraskava*, pl. n. of a people, 46.21c.
- kāṭava*, pl. n. of a people, 47.10b.
- kukhura*, pl. n. of a people, 48.15a.
- kūṭimant*, n. of a mountain, 27.5d. (vulg. *śukṭimant*).
- kūṭikṭa*, a designation of a textile fabric, "made by splinting" (?), 47.23a (vulg. *kūṭi*)^o.
- kūṇinda*, n. of a people, 4.22b; 23.13a, 14b; 48.3c (vulg. *kūṇinda*).
- kūṇḍaladhara*, n. of a nāga, 9.9c.
- kūṇḍamāna*, pl. n. of a people, 48.13a.
- kustambura*, n. of a yakṣa, 10.15c.
- kṛtākṣa*, n. of a kṣatriya, 4.24b.
- kṛtāṅga*, n. of a king, 8.9b.
- kṛtārama*, n. of a *vi*, 4.12b.
- kṛtān*, n. of a king, 48.24a.
- kṛtāva*, n. of a *vi*, 7.11d.
- kṛtān*, n. of a nāga, 9.8c.
- kṛvāla*, pl. n. of a people, 28.47b.
- kāṭavya*, "stake" (in gambling), 58.22d.
- kāṭāṭaka*, fem. *ikā*, "of the Kṛtās", 48.10a.
- kākanada*, pl. n. of a people, 24.17b.
- kāpauṣṭasana*, n. of a *vi*, 4.14b.
- kollayni*, n. of a place, 28.45c.
- kōra*, "vanu-*ha*" (of a snake), 59.3b.
- kūṭhaka*, pl. n. of a people, 48.14a; see also *caitulya-kūṭhaka*.
- kauṭaka*, n. of a serpent-demon (cf. *kaśā*), 19 + 10c, also another name for *Hansa*, *Jaiśampadha's* general, 20.30c.
- kāṭava*, a very large number, 58.3b, *kaṭhava*, consisting of three *kāṭas*, 47.5c, cf. *kaṭhava*.
- keśakānu*, n. of a yakṣa, 10.15d.
- gandakānu*, n. of a yakṣa, 10.15a.
- gandakānu*, n. of a river, = *gandakī*, 18.27a.
- gandakānu*, n. of a *vi*, 7.11a.
- gopālakacchu*, n. of a country, 27.3a (vulg. *kalcyo*).
- gorāṭha*, n. of a mountain, 18.30c.
- gōṣṭhena*, pl. n. of a people, 47.5a.
- gōṣṭhena*, n. of a *vi*, 7.10b.
- gaurāṭha*, n. of a king, 8.17b.
- gaurāṭha*, pl. n. of a people, 29.8b (vulg. *gaurā*).
- ghatājñaka*, n. of a *vi*, 4.11b.
- ghatāṭha*, n. of a demon, 9.13c.
- ghatāṭha*, n. of a *Viśv*, 13.56b.
- catuṣṭha*, n. of a king, 8.10c.
- catuṣṭha*, a name of *Jaiśampadha*, 13.8a, 20a.
- cāṇmetrā*, n. of an apsaras, 10.10c.
- cāṇa*, n. of a nāga, 9.8d.
- cāṇena*, another name of *Ḍibhaka* (q. v.), 20.30c.
- cāṇenā*, n. of an apsaras, 10.10b.
- cūṇasas*, n. of a yakṣa, 10.17d.
- cātṛakī-kauṭaka*, pl. n. of (one or) two people (s), 46.21b. (cf. *kauṭaka*).
- jāṅghābandhu*, n. of a *vi*, 4.14a.
- jāṅgha*, n. of a king, 4.21a.
- jambhaka*, n. of a king, 28.7b.
- jambhaka*, n. of a country, 27.4b (vulg. *jambhaka*).
- jāṅgha*, n. of a *vi*, 4.12c.
- jāṅgha*, n. of one of *Jaiśampadha's* generals, 13.11d, 36c, 40c, 41d, 42a; 17.25a; 18.1a; 20.13b (vulg. *jāṅgha*).
- jambhaka* (P), pl. n. of a people, 28.48c.
- jāṅgha*, n. of a dvīpa, 28.46a.

- tārkyā*, pl n of a people, 48 14a
tittiri-almāva, 'speckled like partridge',
 epithet of horses, 25 6i, 19a 47 4a
tunungila, n of a king, 28 46c
turaya n of a king, 8 8c
turā, 'quickly', 64 10a (see Addenda)
tināka, n of a king, 8 16a
trahṣarva, sea *lharva*
trahṣarva—preceding, 45 24c
travani, n of a rā, 4 11a
trayāya, n (or epithet) of a people 47 15a
tuṣṣiṣṭha, n of a king, 8 15h
daśavara, n of a demon, 9 14d
dāmasnisa, n of a rā, 4 11a
dāmanīya, n of a people, 47 5b
divahpravaha n of a city 24 12a (vulg. *diva-*
pravaha)
diṅghaprajña n of a king, 27 2b (vulg. *diṅgha-*
prajña)
diṅghasavani, pl n of a people, 48 3b
durmutka, n of a demon, 9 13a
durvibhāga, pl n. of a people 48 12c
deva, 'play, gambling' in aksa-deva, 55 5a
devatāya, n of a king, 8 23b
devahavya, n of a rā, 7 16e
devita "play" (of dice), 56 10a
drumoputra, n. of a king, 25 1d
dyakya n (or epithet) of a people, 47 15a
dhāman, n of a king, 8 23d
dhādhanā, 'rich in wisdom', 18 17d.
naya, n of a king, 8 19d
nālā, "stalk" (= *nāla*) in *māva*,
 'bean-stalk' 19 15c (see Addenda)
ruṣṭha, n of a people, 46 21b (vulg. *nipo*)
nidanta, n of a Vṛṣṇi, 13 58a
nir-ah nirūha, "declares", 57 2d
nir-ama nirāpavani, "to declare" 44 22d.
nir-kṣita, 'horder, environs', 24 27h (see
 Addenda ad loc), 47 9c
nir-kṣita kṣama, "having abandoned (surrendered)
 one's free choice", 60 42b, 43d
pañcācāpala, pl n of a people, 29 6d
pañcokasta, n. of a king, 8 12b
paṭṭaya, epithet of a textile fabric, 47 22d.
parā-iti as "to rely upon", with loc, 57 18a
parisandha, adv., 'about the Indus', 47 9d
 (vulg. *pāresandha*)
parṇāda, n. of a rā, 4, 11b
paratrapāṇi, n. of a rā, 4 13c.
parāpa, pl n of a people, 48 3c
parābhūta n. of a country, 27 8d
pāndur, used of the sons of Pāndu, 55 14a;
 62 10a
pārāvargya 'adherent of hostile party',
 57 12a
pāyātā, n of a rā, 5 3a (cf next)
pāyātāka, n of a rā, 4 12d (cf preceding)
paṅgalaka n of a yakṣa, 10 17a
pacchanda, n of a king (at place?) 28 47d
 (vulg. *pōchanda*)
pūhara n of a demon, 9 13d
pūpāka, a kind of gold said to be collected by
 ants, 48 4a
purānacaurā, "former thief", man with
 criminal record, 5 72c
pūspamāna, n of a yakṣa, 10 17a
pūru, n of Arjuna's charioteer, 30 30b
pūrvadeśa n of a country, 47 31b.
prthagāśva, n of a king, 8 20d
prthvāṣṭa, n of a king, 8 9b
prthvāśva, n of a king, 8 18b
praiha, n of a king, 8 19d
paṅga, n of a rā, 4 15c
paṭana, n of a city, 28 38d
paṭala, pl n of a people, 48 13b
pratika (m), "apiece", 5 68c
pratibādhana, fem ^{ci}, 'repelling', 5 53d
pradava, pl. n of a people, 48 3b
pradyota, n of a yakṣa, 10, 15b
pravāṭaka, n of a yakṣa, 10 17b.
prahlāda n of a nāga, 9 10a.
prācavahma, "eastern Subhas", n of a people
 27 24a (vulg. *prasiṣṭha*)
prajnavādika, "speaking words that claim to be
 wise", 61 38b (adjective to *prajñāvāda*,
Bhagavadgītā 2 11b, the meaning of which is
 established by this)
prāṭhīya, patronymic, regularly for vulg.
prāṭhīpeya, 56.2a, 7a; 57 17a
prāpti, n of a daughter of Jarāsamṛdha, 13.30a
pryāyati, demon, "is glad", 56.5b.
phaladaka, n. of a yakṣa, 10 16b
phaladaka, n of a yakṣa, 10 16b.
phalguna, = *phālguna* (Arjuna). 58 20d.
bābhrumāna, n. of a rā, 4 14d
balavāka, n of a rā, 4.12 a
balā, n of a rā, 4.9d,
bōhaka, pl n. of a people, 47.15d.

bulbudā, n. of an apsaras, 10 11d
bhadiakāva, pl. n. of a people, 13 25a
bhāṅgaśunrī, n. or patronymic of a king, 8 15a
 (vulg. °sunrī).
bhīnayaṇu, n. of a king, 8 19c.
bhūmī, "basic capital" (opposed to *phula*,
 "interest, profit"), 47.2c.
bhūlūga, a certain bird, 38 17d, 41 18d, 19a.
bhogavani, n. of a king (?), 27. 11b.
magunant, n. of a nāga, 9 9c, 19 10c
māṇḍūkākṣo, epithet of horses, probably "of the
 column of frogs' eyes", 25 6b.
vattamayāra, pl. n. of a people, 29 5b.
madanvika, n. of a mountain, 27.8b (vulg.
madadhāva).
madakānta, n. of a king, 4 21a.
modhavanikāya, pl. n. of a people, 29.7a.
mahāgama, "of great gait" (of horses), 47.
 26c.
mahāśīra, n. of a rsi, 4.8b; of a demon, 9 14b.
mahāśua, n. of a king, 8 18a.
mahecha, n. of a place, 29.6a (vulg. *mahettha*).
mācella, n. of a king, 31.13d.
mādhavilīlita, n. of a locality, 13 52b.
mālā, n. of river, 18.28d.
māsāda, n. or epithet of a fabulous bull, killed
 by Brhadraha, 19.15a.
māsaśālīka, "pertaining to one month's time",
 54.20d.
mukhya, "first (last)", —*brāhmanā*, in *mukhya-*
vāsas, "wearing brahmins' garments",
 18.23b
murjakeśu, n. of a ksatriya, 4 18d.
murācīpattana, n. of a town, 28.45d. (vulg.
surabhīpattana).
mīṣikāda, n. of a nāga, 9.10a.
meghavāsas, n. of demon, 9.14d.
meghavāhana, n. of a king, 13.12b.
modāgiri, n. of a king (not a mountain!), 27.19a.
modāpura, n. of a city, 24 10a.
maṇḍīyāyana, apparently patronymic of *vāyu-*
bhākṣa (q. v.), 4 11c.
mauleya, n. of a people, 48.14c.
rōmaṣa, n. of a mountain, 28.46b.
ruṣadaśva, n. of a king, 8.13a.
ruṣadga, n. of a king, 8.12c.
rocmanā, n. of a king, 24.18d; of another king,
 26.8b.
romā, "Roma" 28.49a.

rohitaṭa, n. of a place (? mountain), 29 4d
latā, n. of an apsaras, 10 11d.
lātākṣa, pl. n. (or epithet) of a people, 47 15a.
lotā, pl. n. of a people, 24.24a.
lohanagha, pl. n. of a people, 46 21c.
lohula, n. of a nāga, 9 8c, n. of a country (or
 king), 24 16c.
lohitya, n. of a river (the Brahmaputra), 48 8d.
 (vulg. *lauhitya*).
vanāha, n. of a rsi, 4 15c.
vanōhaharna, n. of a yakṣa, 10.16a.
vaṅgopāla, "herd-keeper", applied to Kṛṣṇa,
 41.17b.
vaigū, n. of an apsaras, 10.11c
vaimakṣa, pl. n. of a people, 27 12a.
vastupa, pl. n. of a people, 48.14b.
vātasandha, n. of a rsi, 7.12a.
vāyubhākṣa, n. of a rsi, 4.11c.
vāṇīsepa, n. of a king, 8.18c, n. of a sea (lake),
 48.8c.
vāṇīśānīśa, "made of (the skin of) cats",
 47 3a.
vān, n. of a demon, 9.14c.
vāṇīśūta, n. of an asura, 9 15a.
vi-tapā; *vitapāṇa*, ppl., "disputing",
 33.4d.
virūpa, n. of a demon, 9.14b.
viśvādhana, n. of a ksatriya, 4.18d.
viśvāka, n. of a yakṣa, 10.15d.
viśvurūpa, n. of a demon, 9 14a.
vrkṣavāsin, n. of a yakṣa, 10.17c.
vrndōjaka, n. of a city, 29.10d (vulg. *dvayakajā*)
venujāṅgha, n. of a rsi, 4.15c.
vaiṣṇamakṣa, pl. n. of a people, 48.12b.
vauāmo, pl. n. of a people, 47 10a.
vairm, pl. n. of a princely family, 8.22b.
śokhōvāpa, n. of a snake, 19.9a.
śonkha, n. of a demon, 9.13a.
śāimakṣa, pl. n. of a people, 27.12a.
śānavatya, pl. n. of a people, 48 15d (vulg.
śāva°).
śikhōvanti, n. of a rsi, 2.12c.
śikhāvanta, n. of a yakṣa, 10.16a.
śintvika, n. of a rsi, 4.12a.
śukānśika, "colored (?) like a parrot's nose"
 ("brown-faced", Devabodha), 47.4b.
śukṛti, "acting purely, rightly", 5.70a.
śukara, epithet of elephants, 48.24b; according
 to Nilakantha, local name. Cf. KIRTEL
Kosmographie, 329.

- śūro*, pl. n. of a people (?) or adjective), 48.12.
śaṭṭṛīśaka, n. of a place, 29.6a.
śaṭṭṛīśa, n. of a yakṣa, 10.17b.
śaṭṭṛīśa, pl. n. of a people, 48.15a.
śaṭṭṛīśa, n. of a kṣatriya, 4.23a.
śaṭṭṛīśa, n. of a guhyaka, 10.4d.
śaṭṭṛīśa, ul. substantive, in *gāthā-sam*°, "thing that touches (the body)", 5.56b.
saṅghāṭana, "resounding", 54.5a.
saṅghāṭana, "the fashioning, origination" (*kalohasya*), 51.11b.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a kṣatriya, 4.19a.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a city, 28.47c.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a king, 8.10c.
saṅghāṭana, pl. n. of a people, 27.12a.
saṅghāṭana, pl. n. of a people, 27.14b.
saṅghāṭana, "throw" (of dice), 67.20c (cf. *ākṣepa*).
saṅghāṭana, "valuables from the sea", 48.30a.
saṅghāṭana, "great, proud", = *prauḍho*, 5.63a.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a rṣi, 4.8b.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a king, 8.10b.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a yakṣa, 10.16a.
saṅghāṭana, n. or patronymic of two rṣis (dual *saṅghāṭau*), 2.11d.
saṅghāṭana, "bespangled"? (of a *śaṅkhā*), 49.15a.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a people, 13.25c.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a rṣi, 4.12b.
saṅghāṭana, apparently n. of Arjuna, 56.6d.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a kṣatriya, 4.24c.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a rṣi, 4.12d.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a king of Kāśī, 27.6b. (vulg. *saṅghāṭana*).
saṅghāṭana, n. of a king, 23.14c.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a demon, 9.13b.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a demon, 9.13b.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a rai, 4.8c.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a demon, 9.14a.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a priest, 30.34d.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a king, 8.9a.
saṅghāṭana, pl. n. of a people, 13.25c.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a demon, 9.13a.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a mountain, 48.8b.
saṅghāṭana, n. of one of Kṛṣṇa's horses, 2.13d. (vulg. *saṅghāṭana*).
saṅghāṭana, "employing soma", 7.9a.
saṅghāṭana, n. of an apsaras, 10.11c.
saṅghāṭana, dvandva, = *śula*°, 11.26a (not to be emended with PW).
saṅghāṭana, "bursting, blooming", 51.17b (see Addenda).
saṅghāṭana, n. of a demon, 9.13b.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a snake, 19.9c.
saṅghāṭana, pl. n. of a people, 48.13b.
saṅghāṭana, "hamsa-ray-coloured, white", 31.22c.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a rṣi, 4.14c.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a country, 25.3a; pl. n. of a people, 25.5b.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a rṣi, 7.16d.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a rṣi, 7.11c.
saṅghāṭana, n. of a yakṣa, 10.16d.
saṅghāṭana, "restricted by shame", 49.2a (vulg. *niṣewo*; see Addenda).

UNPĀṆINIAN FORMS AND USAGES IN THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA¹

4 SANDHI²

By

E. D. KULKARNI

As a general rule Sanskrit allows no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce according to certain rules laid down by Pāṇini's great grammar. But *Pragthyas* are exceptions : When the dual of a noun or a verb ends in *ī*, *-ū*, or *-e* these vowels do not combine with another following them.³ The final *-o* of a particle is also considered as a *pragthya*.⁴ In the Critical Edition of the Mbh. scarcely any unpāṇinian consonant sandhi is found ; the present paper, therefore, deals mainly with vowel sandhi and visarga sandhi. The general rules of vowel sandhi are as follows. When any vowel, short or long, except the last four, is followed by the same vowel, short or long (*saṃvṛtīyasvara*), the substitute for both is the same vowel lengthened.⁵ The guṇa is the single substitute of the final *-a* or *-ā* of a preceding word and the simple vowel (*-i*, *-u*, *-ṛ*, *-l* short or long) of the succeeding.⁶ Similarly if *-e*, *-ai*, *-o* or *-au* follow *-a* or *-ā*, *ṛddhi* is the single substitute for both.⁷ Next when *-i*, *-u*, *-ṛ* and *-l* short or long, are followed by a dissimilar vowel (*vijāṭīyasvara*) the corresponding semi-vowels *-y*, *-v*, *-ṛ* and *-l* are respectively substituted for them.⁸ Lastly *-e*, *-o*, *-ai* and *-au* when followed by a vowel become *-ay*, *-av*, *-āy* and *-āv*.⁹

¹ A pathetic interest attaches to the publication of this work. It is certainly an irony of fate that I have to publish one of the articles of the series, suggested by late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, in a Memorial Volume in his honour, on the first anniversary of his death.

² For the previous study of the series see *Annals BORI* 24.83-97; *BDCRI* 4.227-45; *NIA* 6.130-39. I gratefully record my obligations to Dr. S. M. Katre for helping me substantially at every stage with his guidance and books.

³ ईद्वेदन्दिद्वचनम् प्रगृह्यम् ॥ ईद्वेदन्तं द्विद्वचनं प्रगृह्यसंतं स्यात् । (Siddhānta Kaumudī) on *Pāṇini* 1.1.11

⁴ ओत् ॥ ओवन्तो निपातः प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । (Siddhānta Kaumudī) on *Pāṇini* 1.1.15.

⁵ अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः ॥ अकः सवर्णेऽपि परे दीर्घे एकादेशः स्यात् । (Siddhānta Kaumudī) on *Pāṇini* 6.1.101.

⁶ आद्गुणः ॥ अवर्णादपि परे पूर्वपय्येरेको गुणादेशः स्यात्सहितायाम् । (Siddhānta Kaumudī) on *Pāṇini* 6.1.87.

⁷ वृद्धिरेचि ॥ आदेऽपि परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात् । (Siddhānta Kaumudī) on *Pāṇini* 6.1.88.

⁸ इको यणचि ॥ इकः स्थाने यण् स्यादपि मंहितायां विषये । (Siddhānta Kaumudī) on *Pāṇini* 6.1.77.

⁹ एचोऽयवायावः ॥ एचः क्रमादय् अव् आय् आम् एते स्युरपि । (Siddhānta Kaumudī) on *Pāṇini* 6.1.78.

Of the visarga sandhi, we are concerned only with the two. When a visarga is preceded by *-a* and followed by *-a* or a soft consonant, it is changed to *-u*, which with the preceding *-a* becomes *-o*; secondly a visarga preceded by *-ā* and followed by a vowel or a soft consonant, is dropped. It is also dropped when preceded by *-a* and followed by any vowel except *-a*; the two vowels thus brought together by the dropping of visarga, do not coalesce¹⁰

A critical examination of the material presented below clearly shows that sandhi was originally more flexible and that there was an overgrowing antipathy to forms of sandhi, not sanctioned or countenanced by Pāṇini's grammar, hiatus also came to be disapproved and was removed by certain expedients¹¹. The different portions of the Critical Text as well as the Critical Apparatus present the same phenomenon. An irregularity from Pāṇini's grammar is a common feature of the elastic epic diction, but a majority of them is often utilized *metri causa*. It naturally leads to regularization. That is why the manuscripts, recorded in brackets, indicating the source of the reading concerned, betray surreptitious efforts of the scribes and redactors to eliminate hiatus and correct the wrong sandhi by the insertions of *hi*, *ca*, *tu*, *vā*, *api*, *atha*, *su* etc. between the vowels, or by recasting the whole pāda, or by transposition or modification of words from the point of (a) pada (e.g., *jāyati* for *jāyate*, *vidyati* for *vidyate*), (b) tense (e.g., *babhūva* for *abhavat*, *vahan* for *uvāha*); (c) upasarga (e.g. *saṃgamyā* for *abhiṃgamyā*; *vyāsada* for *āsada*; (d) synonyms (e.g. *haya* or *vāy* for *āśva*; *śakṛāṇi* for *indrāṇi*; *pūjayitvā* for *arcayitvā*). Out of these devices towards regularization, the particles which are sandwiched between the vowels, show great variation from Ms. to Ms. But often enough these small particles are very instructive in determining the complex relationship of Mss.¹²

1 *Prasādhya* in

A. *Nouns*

1 14 5^d *samūhete dīhute naghā* {K₀ *imparne cīlīhute* var, TC₂ ; *mumudite tēd*, *naghā* (I₁ *tapodhanam*, I₂ *taṇodhanam*)}

1 19 16^d *te gādham* (K₀ 2 *im āgadhām* K_{2m} ; D₂ *te bhīmān*, I₂ *te gādham*)

¹⁰ Cf. WHITNEY, *Sanskrit grammar* 59-60

¹¹ Prolegomena to the *śākhā*

¹² Cf. V. S. KIRKANKAR, *Indian Studies VII ABORI* 19 212.

B. *Verbs.*

- 1.57.88^f jayñāte 'shavivēñādaśu ;
 1.57.94^d jayñāte 'śravidāñ uhlau
 1.204.3^d vijñāte 'marāv iva [TC (except C₁) 'te yathāmaśau.]
 1.204.5^d (K₀₋₄ N₁ V₁ D₅ °te yathāmaśau) ; 1.211.9^d ;
 1.218.32^b jagñāte 'vināv api (S₁ K₁ Ñ₁ D₂ °te tathāvināu) ;
 5.45.3^b śśaiyāte 'nturikae
 5.48.21^b aśnuvāte 'kśayāñ (T_{2m} anuyātau akśayāñ) ;

C. *Particles.*

- 1.1038* 6 aho 'yam ; 3.40.29* ;

[I. *Hiatus between two pādas, between*

A. (a) -a and -a

- 1.2.115^{cd} dharmas ca ajiñāsāñ (K₁₋₂ dharmas cāpy aji°, C₁₋₂ 4 M dharmas ajiñāsārthan
 śibm) ; 1.128* 16 ;
 1.290* 2 ca asurāpāñ ;
 1.54.13^{ab} ca arghyam gām ca (K₀₋₂ M rāyam gām ca ; K₃B₄ gām arghyam (B₄ 'gham)
 ca) ;
 1.60.17^{ab} soma ca aha ca
 1.67.17^{cd} duḥśanta asu (K₁ hy asu me ; B 45 tadā me, T₁G₁M tvayāstu mama
 samgamaḥ) ;
 1.86.12^{ab} aniketa ca agotracarāto ;
 1.862* 7 gṛhaśhasya amatañ (All except C₁₋₃ D₄ 'yāpāritam).
 1.87.14^{ab} narendra apy ekaikaḥ (T₁ hy apy ekaikaḥ ; C₁ hy ekaikaḥ).
 1.980* 1 ca aśi ;
 1.96.42^{ab} kalena atyakrānta (S₁KD₅ tv abhyākṛā°, Ñ₃ tv atyakṛā° ; BD₄ sotyakṛā° ; D₁
 tyaktakṛāna ; D₂ sobhyākṛā°) ;
 1.1081* putra aśi aśi ;
 1.109.21^{cd} ca adharmistham (S₁KND₁ D₁ ca (K₃ vā) py adharmistham ca ; C₁ cādharma nistham
 ca) ;
 1.1366* caiva anyām ; 1.1388* 2 eva anujñāto 'a ;
 1.1415* 1 vegena aśvatthāmā , 1.1600* 2 ca aśi.
 1.169.5^{cd} kaunteya adṛśyantyāñ (S₁ tv adṛ° ; K₁ tv adṛśyantyā ; D₅ nādr°) ;
 1.1841* 2 agastyena agādho ;
 1.179.19^{cd} ca astuvāne tatra (K₂ stuvāne) ;
 1.1987* 3 mahāprājña adya ;
 1.218.11^{cd} ca apratiśtho (K₄ÑV₁ BDn D₁₋₄ cāpy apratiśtho ; D₂₋₅ ca na prati° ; T₁ ca
 hy apra°) ;
 1.2159* 3 pātha aśvāñ ;
 3.13.119^{ab} vyaparīṣṭya vijeyāñ (S₁K₃D₁₋₂ hy ajeñāñ ; Dc vijeyāñ) ;
 3.27.23^d ca agniveśyo (S₁K₃B₁ D₁ D₂ insert api before agni°) ;
 3.36.1^{ab} kileṇa antakena (S₁K₁ 2 BD (D₁₋₃ m'wing) hy antakena.) ;

- 3.184*.2 *saṁgama* *apite* ; 3.333* *kalasāṁsargadoṣa* *apavīro* ;
 3.80.77^d *vira* *analo* ($\tilde{S}_1 K_1 \cdot 4$ $D_2 D_n D_1$ *jvalano* ; D_2 *jvalane*) ;
 3.80.121^{ab} *mahārāja* *ama* *sarvātsarām* ($\tilde{S}_1 K_1 G_2$ *to* *amu* ; $T_1 G_1$ *data* ; $T_2 G_1$ *sataṁ*) ;
 3.81.15^c *naravyāghra* *agnīlomaphalaṁ* ;
 3.81.67^{cd} *kuruvareśreṣṭha* *anājanma* (D_3 *mama* *janma*) ;
 3.82.77^{ab} *mahārāja* *adyāpī* ;
 3.82.79^d *tatra* *abhiḡama* ($D_n D_1 \cdot 2$ *namaskṛtya* ; *De* *saṁgama*) ;
 3.82.104^d *rājendra* *asurāṇā* ($K_2 D_n D_3$ *hy* *asura* ; $T_1 G_1$ *rājanyo* *vai* ; $T_2 G_2 \cdot 4$ M_1 *rajan* *yānī* *vai*) ;
 3.430* *tatra* *agnīlomaphalaṁ* ($K_2 D_2$ *valmī-*) ;
 3.87.0^{cd} *ā* *asū* [*N to* *asū* (K_3 *prā* *to*, *De* D_{1-6} *tuṣito*)] ;
 3.99.5^{ab} *ca* *antarikṣān* [*N* (except $K_3 \cdot 4$) *M* *ins.* *api* *between* *the* *pāda*] ;
 3.106.1^f *samadhivanta* *śaṅkrahātukṛtānāḥ* [$\tilde{S}_1 K_1 \cdot 2 \cdot 4$ *hy* *śaṅka* ; D_{3-5} *teśā* ; *S* (except M_1) *vijī*] ;
 3.106.6^{ab} *saṁgīṭhya* *asamañjāḥutaṁ* ($\tilde{S}_1 K_1 \cdot 2$ *to* *asamañjāḥutaṁ* ; $K_4 D_{3-5}$ *sasamañjāḥ* *De* *samañjāḥ* *sutam*) ;
 3.106.36^d *saṁgīṭhāya* *anīśumān* ($\tilde{S}_1 K_1 \cdot 2 \cdot 4$ *to* *anīśumān* ; D_5 *hy* *anīś*) ;
 3.148.37^{ab} *nāma* *acirāt* ($\tilde{S}_1 K_1 \cdot 3$ D_1 D_{3-5} ; G_1 *nacirāt*) ;
 3.779* *cāiva* *ajī* ; 3.851* *vānūṣṭroṇa* *anm* *ivarāṇ* ;
 3.867* *carva* *adhlutaṁ* ;
 3.178.4^{ab} *ca* *ahīṣā* [*N* (except $D_n D_{4-6}$) *py* *ahīṣā*] ;
 3.181.34^{ab} *amuta* *amuta* ;
 3.183.24^{ab} *ca* *alīhiyā* *mudito* ($G_1 M_1$ *subhikāṇucito* ; M_2 *prabhāvāhiyucito*) ; 3.187.27^{ab} *ca* *avadhūḥ* ;
 3.199.13^{ab} *vinīcītya* *atrāpī* [*S* (except $G_3 M_1$) *tatrāpī*] ;
 3.212.13^{ab} *ca* *aśthibhyo* ;
 3.243.4^d *tatra* *atī* *sarvāṇi* *ayām* *kratuh* (M *hy* *ali* ; \tilde{S}_1 *kratūn* *sarvān* *aham* *to* *ali* ; $K_1 \cdot 2$ *kratuh* *sarvāṇi* *tv* *ayām* *hy* *atī* ; $K_3 \cdot 4$ D_{1-3-5} T_2 *kratūn* *sarvān* *ayām* *hy* *ali* ; G_1 *kratūn* *sarvān* *avāpasyati*) ;
 3.283.16^{ab} *tena* *anunito* [*K* (K_3 *missing*) D_3 *to* *anunito*] ;
 3.1358*.8 *tatra* *agmibhotraparīkṣasyā* ; 4.76* *tāta* *asvay* ;
 4.3.8^{cd} *karma* *avabuddham* (*K* *vyavabuddham* ; $B_1 D_6$ *hy* *anu* ; $B_2 \cdot 3m$ *hy* *anubaddham* ; B_3 *jñānabaddham* ; B_4 *hy* *anubandham* ; D_7 *svanubandho* ; D_8 *hy* *ava*) ;
 4.3.10^d *upāśhrāya* *api* ;
 4.107* *kāma* ; *ca* *arthas* *ca* (D_6 *svārthas*) ;
 4.9.13^d *upāśhrāya* *api* (D_{8-10} $T_1 G_2$ *hy* *api*) ;
 4.33^{ab}*.9 *ca* *acchidraśānī* ; 4.353*.1 *ca* *adhomukhamukhī* ;
 4.439* *anupasaṁgama* *abhyabhīṣata* *durvātāḥ* ($K_2 D_4$ *kākaḥ* *kāmamohitāḥ*) ; 4.473*.1 *hīmasenena* *ady* *vā* ;
 4.24.17^d *manuṣyendra* *ata* *ūrdhva* (TC_2 *ājḍhi* *bhūyo* *yad* *icchasa*) ;
 4.579*.2 *vratāṣya* *anvayadyata* ; 4.623*.10 *tena* *arjunena* ;
 4.863*.1 *ca* *a.vatthāma* ;
 4.52.17^{ab} *āḍṛya* *atha* *śaktim* [B_{1-3} $D_{2-5-7-8-10-12}$ *c* *rathasaktim* ; $B_4 D_n D_{1-3-4-6-9}$ *rathacchaktim* (D_4 *cchinnam*)] ;
 4.940*.*ca* *arthavidyā* ; 4.1086*.2 *tāta* *ajñāna* ;
 4.1134*.5 *yaśā* *akāmaṣya* ; 5.38*.3 *govinda* *aham* ;

- 5.58^a subhaddā ca abhūmayas ca ;
 5.59^{1.3} atyām ca abhūmā ca (D₁₀ kamābhīnā; T_G 1.4.5 M_{1.2} dayā cāpi);
 5.29.8^d karmāpāva atandito (K₂D₂ hy atundito; K₃ svatan^o; T₁G_{1.5} to atan^o);
 5.30.35^d samījaya anūmayam (K₁₋₃ samījāyām; T₂ hy anūmayam);
 5.30.42^d avathivā asmadvākyāt (D₁ to asmadvā^o; T₁G₁ hy asmad^o);
 5.31.15^b samūṣa apūṣa; 5.32.9^b samījaya ajāśatruin;
 5.34.49^d iṣṇendia api (D₁ hy api);
 5.42.30^d mīnasya asau (K₂D₃ T_G hy asat; D₁₀ apy asat);
 5.43.12^b tūṣa ca atūṣayam (D₅ nirmīṣayam);
 5.43.24^b vedā ca anīcas ca [K₁B (except B₃) Dn D₁₋₆ api anīcaḥ; G₂ hy anyataḥ; G₃ hy anīcaḥ];
 5.43.34^d brahmāṣya antarātmāni vai citāni [K₁ paramātmavibhūtatām; Ds D₈₋₁₀ T₂ G_{2.3} (second time) C₅ bahva (D₉ tana; T₂ laddhya) nantaram āpnuyāt, G₁ (second time) bahvantām avāpnuyāt];
 5.44.18^b iva atho;
 5.44.19^b iva atho;
 5.47.41^d yūṣāvaya aśtre yogo (D_{1.2} āstre yogaḥ);
 5.50.31^d prapūṣitavyeva api mucyate (K₅ na vā mucyate, D₂ nīvam^o);
 5.88.101^b dībhama ya aṁṁ iṣā (K_{1.2} samīkṛtyā);
 5.139.12^d gṛhyāda amātāni vaktum utashe [N (Dn₂ missing) mubhyāktum tadā (Dn₁ D₉ amātā, D_{3.1} samuṁ tsah)];
 5.139.39^d kṛta amuṁ [N (K₂ om., Dn₂ missing) tesmin];
 5.560^{1.1} kaunteya akattham (K₄D₅ D_{3.1} 7-10 sa kattham);
 (h) -a and -ū
 1.57.13^d ca ākāśe (T₂ hy ākāśe, G₆ vīmānān);
 1.642^{1.2} ca āvartā; 1.669^{1.3} ca āvartā;
 1.805^{1.6} ca ātmadānam; 1.1092¹ tatva āśramasāśa ca;
 1.1137¹ tatva āmāyā;
 1.112.14^d āśāya ājahāva (N₁ sa juhāva; N₂ Dn D₁₋₄ sa juhāra);
 1.114.56^b ca ādityāḥ
 1.1324¹ āśya āśramāyān samipataḥ (D₄ hy āśramasya mahāpate);
 1.128.1^b samānīya ācāryārtham acodayat (T₁ G₁₋₄ codayāmāsa vai gurub);
 1.141.14^b yac ca ātmānam (S₁ K_{0.1} N_{2.3} V₁ B₃ Dn D₁ T₁ apy ātmānam);
 1.1615^{1.3} dvijaśārdūla āimā; 1.759^{1.2} ca ātithyam;
 3.46.10^b ca ācāryaḥ;
 3.73.12^d samādhāya āvadhya (S₁ samuddhegnau; K₁ samuddhegnau; K₂D₅ samidhyan-
 tam; K₃ samiddhe tam; K₄ sopadhātum; B_{1.2.4} Dn D_{4.6} savitus tam; B₃ Dc
 samudhe tam; D_{1.2} samiddhayantham; G₁ hy āvādhya);
 3.81.21^d ātmeṣa ābute (K₂Dn hītan tat su^o; Dc prākṛte vai; D₅ kṛtan tat su^o);
 3.93.14^d āyājanta āṣṇa;
 3.97.2^b asuraśreṣṭha ātithyam [K_{1.2.4} B D (except D_{2.3.5}) T₂ G₃ to ātithyam];
 3.134.3^b prabodhaya āśvīyam; 3.663^{1.3} mahārāja āśanmah;
 3.148.9^b samīcalasya ācāram (S₁ K_{1.2} to ācāram);
 3.750¹ cādyān ānyāni tavānīkām (De pāśvayor ānyāni te);
 3.155.49^d caiva ācīkṇi (S₁ K_{1.2} D₁₋₃ ācīkṇi; B₁ Dc śobhi^o);
 3.297.74^b kāmāc ca ānīśāmyam; 4.147^{1.1} puruṣavyāghra āyudhāni;
 4.53.6^b satyam ca ānīśāmyam athārjavam [D₇ orig. dāmānīśāmyam eva ca; S tejo
 mārjavān ājavam (M_{1.2} mārjavān hīr āśvīpālān)];

- 5.30.38^{ad} ca ānṛsaṁsvād [K₁.3 B (B₁ missing) Dn Da D₂-7.10 T₁ G₁.2 yān ānṛsaṁsvā (K₁ B₃ Ds D₂-6.10 T₁ °syād; G₂ °syān); D₉ ya ānṛsaṁsvād; T₂ hy ānṛsaṁsvād; G₅ M apy ānṛsaṁsvād (M₄ °syān)]; 5.38.2^{ab} abhyāgatīya ānīya;
- 5.51.5^{ab} ca ācāryaḥ;
- 5.388*.6 dhaumyaś ca ānimāṇḍavyakauśikau;
- 5.83.1^{ab} samāñīyān āyāntān (K₄ B Dn D₂-6.9.10 prayāntān; Ds D₁.8 pnyāntān; M₂.4 cāyāntān);
- 5.92.33^{ad} ca āsan [K (K₃ missing) B Dn Ds D₁.5-8.10 apy āsan (K₂ āsit); D₂ hy āsan];
- 5.423*.3 rājendra ādaraṁ;
- 5.125.4^{ab} ca ācārya [K₁.2.5 B (except B₂) DnDsD₁.6-8.10 °py ācāryo; M hy ācāryau]; (c) -ā and -a.
- 1.151*.1 tathā saavatthāmanā;
- 1.33.22^{ab} vā apare [S₁ K₁.2 (sup. lin.) T G₂.6 M (except M₁) apy apare; K₂ (before corr.): 4 G₄.5 to apare; G₁ pare.];
- 1.41.20^{ad} dīṣṭvā asmākaṁ (S₁ K₁ N₃ Da Dn₁.n₃ D₁-4.6.7 T asmākaṁ; G₃ M₁.5 cāsmākaṁ; the rest hy asmā°);
- 1.59.12^{ab} kilā aṅgulyā [N (except K₂.4 B₅; S₁ missing) danṣyul];
- 1.602*.6 kṛtvā antardvīpe; 1.804*.2 kanyā anapatyā;
- 1.92.32^{ad} smṛtvā abhyagacchad aninditā (S₁ K₉-2 N₂ V₁ B₁.3.6 Da Dn D₄ -lthābhya°; K₃ sṛbhya°; N₁.3 -lthābhyananada°; B₅ samāñīśu samadhyamā; D₁ yāthābhhyagamanin°; D₅ sṛbhyananda°) 1.1082*.1 mātā apy atra;
- 1.103.5^{ab} kanyā antreṣūpā (S₁ K₁ sānu°; K₉ to anu°; K₂-4 N B Da Dn D₁.4 T G₂.4.5 M₅ svānu°; D₂ G₁.3.6 M₃.6.8 hy amu°; D₅ svānu°);
- 1.107.19^{ab} aṣṭhūlā abhavaś chatadhā tadā [N (K₃ Om.) babhūva tatadhā (B Da D₂-4 babdhā); S (T₂ Om.) hy abhavaś (M₃ by transposition, śatadhā hy abhavaś);
- 3.2.36^{ad} tṛpā antardehagatī (S₁DcD₁-3 hy a°);
- 3.2.36^{ad} sambhūtā syonijā (D₁.2 leuham rāja);
- 3.81.87^{ab} anītvā arcayitvā (BD₄.6 S (T₁ Om.) samabhyarcya; D₃ pñjayitvā);
- 3.81.89^{ab} anītvā amareṣu (S₁ hy amareṣu);
- 3.81.94^{ad} anītvā agniṣṭomaphalaṁ (T₂ G₂-4 hy agniṣṭoma°);
- 3.81.114^{ad} anītvā arcayiyanti ye tu mām [S yo mām arcayitā dvija (T₁ °yate narah; G₂ M °yate dvija);
- 3.81.139^{ad} sarvapāpavisuddhātmā agniṣṭomaphalaṁ;
- 3.81.154^{ab} anītvā arcayitvā;
- 3.82.68^{ad} anītvā arcayitvā (B₂ G₂ hy arca°);
- 3.82.69^{ab} gatvā arcayitvā (S₁ K₁ Dc₂ D₁ devam arcyā, K₄ D₁.2 pñjayitvā, G₂ hy arca°);
- 3.82.111^{ab} gatvā arcayitvā (G₂ hy arca°; M₂ samabhyarcya);
- 3.83.33^{ad} anītvā nīvamedhaphalaṁ (S₁ to āvamedha°; K₁ G₁ vūjmedha°; B D₄ goṁhasra°; D₃ T₂ G₂.3 haysamedha°; T₁ vīnded bahū svayagalaṁ);
- 3.146.70^{ad} svavapuṣā arcīsmantān (S₁ K₂ B Dn D₄.6 T G₃.1 M svarcīsmantān; K₁.3.4 Dc D₁.3.5 mūrtimantān; G₁ raśmimantān; G₂ to arcīsmantān);
- 4.23.16^{ad} ārutvā anṛṣā (B D₁.12 S hy anṛṣā; D₄ jānādyā, D₆.10 to anṛṣā, 4.833* jūtā astrārājān;
- 5.31.3^{ad} mantrayitvā anyonyena (D₁ to anyo°; D₉ hy anyo°);
- 5.93.60^{ab} manvānś artham (K₄ B Dn Ds D₃.5.6.8.10 apy artham; D₂.4.9 hy artham; T G₂ svārtham; C₁.3.4 M₁ to artham);
- 5.193.60^{ab} kanyā anubā;
- (d) -ā and -ā.

- 1.1635^a.1 dr̥stvā r̥pūṇaḥ pavadaṁ (D₅ *hy āpūrṇa*^o; T₁ C₁ sanūpūrṇa^o);
 1.1915^a yodhāyitvā yantirah; 1.2070^a.2 yukti āsibhīb;
 1.53.19^d.1 hi r̥y. utu, 3.160.24^d vītamaskarṇi r̥dityo;
 1.290.7^{ab} tadā ājūhāva [K₄ BDe Dn D₂.4.6 *hy āju*^o; S (except G₃) sāju^o];
 4.3.4^d gatvī āsāda (D₂.3.8 vyāsasāda);
 5.40.9^{ab} vānī dārā; 5.73.19^d vātaveṇapracalitā āśhīlī;
 5.88.90^d dūhīti ājamīdhakulām;
 (e) *-i* and *-i*.
 1.209.11^{ab} tīrthām itah [K₃ Ń₁.2 B (except B₅) DM tatāh];
 3.229^b.2 cīpi indrasenīn; 3.190.80^d rājaputri ikṣvākurañyam;
 4.3.16^d yanti iti (D₁.2 *to* hi; D₃ kṛta-); 4.175^a.25 badhīrhi idam;
 4.491^a.7 sarandhīrī ihā; 4.852^a.1 purāṇāni itihāsam;
 5.42.29^{ef} mānyasyanti iti (K₅ Da G₃.4 eva; D₈.10 evam);
 (f) *-i* and *-i*.
 5.189.7^d bhāvi iti;
 5.194.10^{ea} māyāvi ity etaddharmamīcayāḥ (K₁.2 evaṁ dharme sunīcitām; K₄ *hy etaddharmānīdarāṇām*; K₅ *hy etaddharmaviniścayāḥ* D₄ - *tyetad* dharmesu niścītaṁ);
 (g) *-u* and *-u*.
 1.45.13^{ab} kṛṇuṣu uttarāyām [S₁ *collarāyām*, K₃ Ń₁.2 V₁ B (B₂ missing) D *sotta*^o; T *hy utta*^o]; 3.294.20^{ab} tu upasamgamyā;
 B (a) *-a* and *-i*.
 1.57.54^{cd} dāśya iyaṁ tava bhavati ity (V₁ B₅ Dn D₁.4 kanyeyam te; T₁ C₃.6 auteyam te);
 1.752^b.1 tasya iti, 1.1424^a.4 āṅgarājasya iti vcyāḥ dvijātībhiḥ [D₄ C₂.4.5^a *śya dvijātībhiḥ* ity (C₄.5^a *bhīrahe*) ritāh];
 1.137.3^d vināśya ity evam [S₁ K₂.4 ŃV₁ B (B₅ marg.) D (except D₅) T₁ M *śāyety* evam to (S₁ ca; K₄ tat)];
 1.167.17^d rakṣasogreṇa iyeṣāttum;
 1.2155^a mandapālasya iti;
 3.81.167^{cd} tena iṣaṁ bhavati śāśvatam [S₁ K₂.4 Dc Dn D₁.2.5 *tene* (K₂.4 Dn *tatre*) *ṣaṁ śāśvatam* bhavet; S *phalām prāpnoti mānavāḥ*]; 3.154.17^{ab} avijñāya idam;
 3.186.95^{cd} ca itam itā [S₁ K₁.2 M₂ kayi (K₂ *ya*) m^{am} ca, K₃.4 D₃ kapiśm (K₃ *śm*) ca, D₅ T₂ (by corr.) G₃ kapilam ca; T₁ C₁ kala (C₁ *li*) mām ca; T₂ (before corr.) C₂.4 *kamaśm* ca]; 3.973^a tāta ikṣvākur;
 3.199.5^{cd} lokasya ity api; 3.199.9^{ab} ca ity api;
 3.241.24^{cd} samānāyā idam vacanam abravīt [K₁ *to idam*, B₁₋₃ D (except D₁₋₃.5) G₃ *vacanam cedam* abravīt];
 4.378^a.6 ca indraśatruṇ; 4.746^a.4 atva idam;
 5.11.20th athavāca indrāpūṇi [N (except D₁.2.8 D₃ *as in text*) śakṛāpūṇi]; 5.30.6^{ab} dūta ih^agacched.
 5.42.29^{ab} mānayanīti ity manyeta m^{am} itah (K₁.4 D₁₋₆ m^{am} itam; Ca pūjām; Ca anu-);
 5.414^a.1 ca indriyānām (Da kṛāriyānām);
 5.141.42^{cd} pravekṣyāma ity;
 (b) *-a* and *-i*.
 1.223.10^{cd} perirakṣāya ititah;
 3.196.16^d ca ihante [N *pūhante* (B₄ *labhante*)];
 (c) *-ā* and *-i*.
 1.402^a.10 rājā ity evam; 1.77.9^{cd} dharm^{am} itā iyaṁ me (S *yān me*);
 1.1581^a dharm^{am} itā idam; 3.297.72^{ab} rājā ity;
 4.446^a.2 tadā idam;

5.12.31^{ab} kṛtvā indrāṇī [K (except K₂) D₁.3.4.9.10 ākrāṇī];

(d) -a and -ā.

1.2.90^{cd} tatra upākhyānaṁ [K_{α-2} B₄ D₂.14 tadvadupa^o; K₄ V₁ B₁.3 Da Dn Dr D₁.3-5.13 tadvadākhyānaṁ; D₆.7.9-12 catadākhyānaṁ; D₈ caiva tadā^o; T₂ C₆ M (except M₁) hy upa^o; G₃ talrāpy upa^o];

1.210*.1 cintayāmaṣa upādhyāyā; 1.36.5^{cd} āmantrya upapannam;

1.1095*.2 dvijāśreṣṭha ugre; 1.111.29^{ab} ca upagacchet;

1.1673*.3 tasya upasargās; 1.155.31^{ab} narendrasya upayājo;

1.177.17^{ab} caiva uddhavaś ca;

1.183.3^{cd} ca upopaviṣṭāṇī [N (Dn om.) cāpy upopā^o];

1.2009*.3 kajāḥkena upasundāṁ; 1.206.13^{cd} mahāṛāja ulūpyā;

1.206.18^{cd} pārtha ulūpti;

3.29.3^{ab} tāta utāho teja ity uta (S₁ K₃ cātra me samāyo mahān; S tejo vā surasattama); 3.489*.7 svakarāgṛṇa udarān;

3.129.9^{ab} prāśya usitvā;

3.132.20^{cd} sametya utsāryamāno (N protā^o);

3.178.25^{ab} tāta utpātēna; 3.192.8^{ab} tāta uttāṇika;

3.296.1^{cd} atra ubhayoḥ (T₂ C₂.4 M hy ubhayoḥ);

4.623*.11 tadāgamyā uttarāyā; 4.789*.2 tena upāyād;

4.799*.5 ca utarjanto; 5.14.5^{cd} atikramya uttarān;

5.29.4^{cd} pārśvavasya utsāhinaḥ; 5.30.7^{ab} eva upātiṣṭhethā;

5.32.3^{ab} dvāḥṣṭha upāgataṁ (K₂.3.5 D₉ samāgataṁ^o; C₂ didīkṣayā dvāraṁ upāgatas ta);

5.35.8^{ab} pratīkṣāva upasthāne (T₁ C₃.4 M tvadarthā me; C₁ tvadhatmā me; C₅ svārthameha);

5.89.9^{ab} ca upahṛīya (K₁.4 B Dn Ds D₅-8.10 apy udnkāṁ ca);

(e) -a and -ā.

1.114.44^{ab} ca ūrnāyur (S pūrnāyur);

1.143.19^{cd} upādāya ūrdhvaṁ [N (except K₄) sordhvaṁ];

4.1175*.2 upaplāvyā ūsuh;

(f) -ā and -ā.

1.9.11^{cd} śṛṅgarārūpābharaṇā uttiṣṭhatu (K₂-4 N V₁ B Da D₂-7 C₄.5 prottiṣṭhatu; T M₁ collī^o; G₁.6 sotti^o);

1.99.39^{cd} avratopetā upēyāt (S₁ K₁ hy upēyāt);

1.1159*.1 bhāryā ubhau;

3.81.134^{ab} vā upavāseṇa (S₁ K₁.2 B Dc Dn D₁.3-6 py upavāseṇa; D₂ ty upa^o; T₂ C₁.3.4 M₂ hy upa^o; K₂ Dn D₅ py uta vāseṇa);

3.82.39^{ab} gatvā upasrīya (S₁ K₁.2 B D (except D₂; D₃ missing) samupa^o);

4.625*.1 sairandhrisabhitā uttarā (C₁.3 sahītotarā);

5.45.3^{cd} vāsānā ūhhe;

(g) -ā and -ū.

1.1606*.2 kanyā ūdhā;

C (a) -a and -e.

1.1020*.2 ekabhāvāv iva;

1.166.3^{cd} ca ekāyamaṅgaḥ (S₁ K apy ekāyama^o);

1.209.20^{cd} vira etāḥ;

3.81.159^{ab} samāśādyā ekarātroṣito (K₄ Dc tu eka^o);

3.138.14^{cd} anuprāpya eṣa;

4.316*.2 yantṛṣaṣṭīśatāṣṭasya ekāmāśaṁ;

4.910*.6 cāvirodhena esa ;
 5.4.23^{ab} ca akalavyasya cātmajaḥ (T₂ viśvajit cāparājitaḥ) ;
 5.169*.4 nibodha ekaamāt ; 5.33.45^{ab} bhūñjīta ekaś ;
 5.43.37^{cd} cānupūrvyepa etad vidvan bravīmi te (D₈₋₁₀ caitai ; G₃ tatāḥ ; Ds tad vidvan prabravīmi te) ;

(b) -a and -ai.

1.271*.1 caiva nūvālamahāgajaḥ ;

(c) -ā and -e.

1.34.1^{cd} śrutvā elāpatro ; 3.870* mahāmāyīt ekena ;

3.184.6^{cd} vā etad [S₁ K₁₋₃ B₂₋₃ D₂₋₄ 6 apy etad ; S (except G₄) hy etad] ;

4.223*.1 ācārasampannā evam ; 5.88.85^{ab} śyāmā ekavastrā ;

(d) -a and -au.

1.171.21^{ab} tātā aurvo'gnīm ;

D (a) -i and -a.

1.46.26^{ab} icchāmi tasyām (N₂ V₁ Dn D₁ tad vrttam ; G₄₋₆ hy ājayām) ;

1.696*.2 cūpi anyadeheṣu ;

3.2.10^{cd} vanyāmi anuyāsyāmahe (S₁ hy anuyāsyāma tvā ; K₃ T G₂₋₃ M₂ hy anuyāsyāmahe ; Dc yāntu yāsyā° ; D₁₋₃ toṣmā° ; G₁₋₄ M₁ py anu°) ;

3.86* ākyāmi aṅgam ; 3.81.129^{ab} yāntu api (S₁ tu api K₁ hy api ; K₂ Dn Dc G₄ yepi ; K₃ ye ca) ;

3.81.168^{ab} ātrthāmi antarikṣacarāni ;

3.101.2^{ab} vartayanti anyonyam [S₁ K₁₋₂ tenyonyam ; K₄ B D (except D₃) M₁ hy anyonyam] ;

3.219.41^{cd} varṣāmi aśivās te (S₁ K B₁₋₃ 4 Dc D₁₋₃ T M hy nśivā°) ;

3.1236*.3 varṣāmi aṣṭa ;

5.33.35^{ab} pravīṣati apyeto (D₂ pravīṣto) ; 5.70.51^{cd} hanti oyaśasv ;

5.153.31^{cd} ugrarāpāni abhavañ (K₁₋₃ B₂ D₂ T₂ G₁₋₃ hy ubhavañ ; K₄ B₁₋₃₋₅ Ds D₁₋₃ 4 6 8 10 babhāvuh ; K₅ prabhavañ) ;

(b) -i and -a.

1.61.96^{cd} asitroṇi asitīyatamūrdhajā [K₀₋₃ to asitā° ; K₁ suasitā° ; K₂ 4 N (Inf. lin. sec. m.) T₁ D₅ svasitā° ; N₂ B₁ Dn D₁₋₃ 4 svasitāncite° ; T₂ G M svañcite°] ;

1.876* sādhiṁ antinārād (G₂ 4 6 hy antinārād) ;

(c) -i and -ā.

1.958*.2 bhaviṣyāmi āhvānopagaṭā ; 1.111.14^{cd} cāpi āpīśamśyena ;

1.1730*.7 kalyāni ātmadānava ;

3.13.90^{ab} kathyayati ānayainam (S₁ K₃ D₁ hy ānayainam ; D₂ hy ānayasva) ;

3.36.27^{ab} jāpanti ākumārām (S₁ hy ākumārā ; K₁₋₂ B Dc Dn D₄ T₂ G₃ M₁ hy ākumārāni) ;

3.184.19^{cd} bhavāni āpyāyitā [B D (except D₁₋₃ 5) cāpyā°] ;

3.190.77^{cd} abhyutsaḥṣāni āyusmān ;

4.1062*.1 śatasahasrāni abhihūya ;

5.89.25^{ab} annāni āpadbhōjyāni (Ds D₁ T₁ G₁ hy āpad° ; G₄ cāpad°) ;

5.111.15^{cd} āpnoti ācāro (S hy ācārāt) ;

(d) -i and -ā.

4.411*.1 tanvāṅi śmantryainam ; 4.411*.2 paripṇanti ājagāma ;

(e) -i and -u.

1.2107* ghotarūpāni ugravīryāni ; 3.134.28^{ab} śrīṇosi nīlāho ;

3.178.36^{ab} hi uvāha [S₁ K₁₋₂ pravāha ; S (except T₂ G₃) vahantā] ;

- 3.189.10^{ab} sarvaḥjāni upyamānāni [K₁·2 tapya^o; B Dn D₄·6 ropyaṇī^o ani; T₂ C; śudhya^o (G₁ vardha^o)];
- 4.27.6^d arhanti udvahantaḥ (S₁ K *codovahantaḥ*; D₄ prādva^o; D₁₀ *hy udvahantaḥ*);
- (f) -i and -u.
- 1.2029*.2 śēdhvī ulūpī;
- (g) -i and -e.
- 1.781^{ab} nāti ekāntarajamau;
- 3.163.27^{ab} śarurāpi ekibhūtāni (S₁ K₁·2 cakṛī^o; M *tu ekī^o*);
- 3.198.72^{cd} adharmcti etac;
- (h) -ī and -e.
- 5.12.8^{ab} davi etad (K₄ yat tad; K₅ T₁ G₁·5 *hy etad*);
- (i) -i and -ai.
- 5.56.41^{cd} āvṛayīṣyanti aiveyāu (K₁·5 harimān);
- (j) -u and -a.
- 3.149.46^{ab} dharmakāryeṣu arthakāryeṣu;
- 4.398*.12 cīamāsu anunūti;
- 5.29.49^{cd} jātu anāśrīya (K₁·2 *tu anāśrīya*; K₅ *hy anāśrīya*);
- (k) -u and -ā.
- 3.192.8^{cd} ramyeṣu śāramas; 5.45.22^{ab} sarvabhūteṣu ātmānam;
- 5.47.103^{cd} astu āyusmantah; 5.423^{ab}.4 tu ādaram;
- (l) -u and -i.
- 3.937* *tu icchayā*;
- (m) -u and -e.
- 4.836^{ab} *tu eko*.
- E (a) -e and -a¹³.
- 1.20.11^{cd} ahīnakīrte anāgataṁ (N₁·2 V₁ B D T₁ C₆ M₄ *hy anāgataṁ*);
- 1.551* *tu amalām*; 1.110.13^{cd} jābhe alābhe (C₄ 'ābhe);
- 1.110.20^{ab} mārge avīryakṛpaṇocite [S₁ K (K₁ om.) D₃ svavīryasatlocitaḥ (S₁ ^odyalaḥ; K₃ ^ocite); N B Da D₂ svavīrya (D₂ rye) kṛ^o; Dn D₁·4 svavīryakṛpā^ocite; S nirvīryakṛ^o];
- 1.1184* prajābhe anvagacchae;
- 1.1970* *tu anyonyasahitīs*;
- 3.61.123^{cd} kaṣṭe amanuṣyanīsevite (All except T₂ C₃·4 M₁ *hy amanu^o*).
- 3.80.119^{ab} camasodbhode sguṣṭhīomaphalaṁ D₃ *cāguṣṭhīomaphalaṁ* (marg. see. m. vāṇīpeya^o);
- S *gosaḥsara^o*];
- 3.477*.1 devayajane akṣayaṇi;
- 3.132.15^{cd} mene aṣṭāvakra (BD (except D₁·3) tathāṣṭā^o);
- 3.242.1^{ab} sarve amātyapravarāḥ ca (T₁ M tamātyapravarā (M₁ ^omukhā) ś ca ha; T₂ C₁·2·4 kṛtām ūcūr na (C₁ rdham na) rādhīpani);
- 4.163*.9 samare adhāḥkṣīr (T₁ nyadhāḥkṣīḥ; T₂ vyadhā^o; C₃ *hy adhā^o* M₁·2 *su adhā^o*);
- 4.325*.2 brūte amātyāś ca;
- 4.26.8^{cd} *te ap^opās* [B₁·3·5 Dn D₉·11·12 durāpās; B₄ D₆ niṣpāpās; D₁ tepāpās; D₂ *tu pāthāḥ*; D₃ *tu apāpās*; D₇ (m as in Text) svapāpās; D₁₀ *hy apāpās*; S rakṣyā nītryam ca (M₁·2 bi) daivataiḥ];
- 4.1133*.2 cakro aranyam;
- 5.42.6^{ab} viplovante ato (D₁₁ D₈·7 *ca tato*).
- 5.119.25^{ab} sarve satyaphalabhāginah (C₁ *hy apatya^o*);
- (b) -e and -ā.
- 1.7.8^{ab} sarve āpaḥ (C₂·3 devāḥ);

¹³ When -e or -a at the end of a word or a grammatical form is followed by -a, or a grammatical form is followed by -a, the letter merges into the former. In its place the marks is generally put.

- 1.463^b.3 yajñānte āstakavacanāḥ; 1.497^b loka ākhyānāḥ;
 1.57.31^{ab} indraprāṇāde akāśe;
 1.576^b.3 varuṇaṇṇas te āstibhur (N V₁ B₄.5 °mānābhīr āstibhi);
 1.768^b.2 arthe ānāṇṇiluo; 1.107.32^d arthe ātmārthe (S₁ K₁ avāmā^o);
 1.152.19^{ab} vai ve ājagmur (S₁ K₀.1 hy ājagmur, K₃ aby ājagmur; T₂ C₁.5.6 cāja^o; C₃ tv ājagmur);
 1.1816^b.2 virūjanāte āsṛm; 3.28.11^{ab} sahlāmadhye āsanam;
 3.148.34^d vartante ādhayo (M₁ dharmas kṛiyate kramāt);
 4.13.7^{ab} ālke ācaksya (Dn₁ hy ācaksya);
 5.37.16^d arthe ātmārthe (C₁ hy ātmārthe);
 5.42.26^{ab} viltte ādhyā [T₁ G (except C₃) hy ādhyā];
 5.126.48^d arthe ātmārthe;
 (c) -e and -i.
 1.1.24^{cd} anye itihāsam, 1.496^b kriyate indriyāḥ;
 1.76.14^{ab} nrpate imāḥ 1.1569^b.8 loka indrajid;
 1.1808^b.2 me iti; 3.22.20^d sarve iti;
 3.37.12^{cd} samgrāme it; 3.97.24^d ājahre idhmavāhas;
 5.42.23^{ab} me iti; 5.57.14^{ab} nrpate ityā;
 (d) -e and -i.
 4.120^b.2 rājakulo Ipseta (T₁ seveta);
 (e) -e and -u.
 1.172.16^d himavatprāśve utsasarja;
 3.127.8^d amūyapariśannadhye upavistāḥ (S₁ K₁.2 hy upa^o);
 4.1077^d.2 manye uttaras;
 (f) -e and -r.
 1.1255^b.1 varṣo rtau; 3.357^b.1 prāpte ituparṇasya;
 3.360.3 prāpte ituparṇasya;
 3.83.73^{cd} upāśante ityāś ca (S₁ K₁.2 M₁ munayaś ca);
 5.128.7^{cd} varado rābhhe (K₄ D₁.3.4.9.10 C₅ vrābhhe);
 5.151.11^d amuvartante rte;
 (g) -e and -e.
 1.1625^b.1 ākhyāsyao etnd duḥkhasya (C₁.2 M₅ duḥkhasyāitasya; M₃ duḥkhasyāitasya
 M₆₋₈ duḥkhasyāivāsyā);
 4.44.9^{cd} ie ekena;
 (h) -e and -ai.
 1.89.55^{cd} anuvāḍye ālavamāvivardhanāḥ;
 (i) -o and -a¹³.
 1.1800^b.1 mahābāho adhartuḥ;
 3.252^b.1 vibho anāthātā;
 (j) -ai and -a.
 3.275.39^{ab} tasmai avindhyāya [K₂.3 D_c D₂ T₂ tasnā avin^o; D₁ M tasnād; B Dn D₅.6
 C₃ hy avindhyāyā];
 4.50.9^d vai āvātthāmā mahātātub (D 7.9 sarvaśastrabhīrām varab);
 5.88.15^{cd} vai atadarhā [N (except K₂; K₃ missing; K₅ om.) C₁ na tadardha];
 (k) -ai and -ā.
 3.917^b tā na śakyā mahatyō vai āpas tarturā mayā vinā (B₃ no ca śakyam idam vāri tvayā tarturā
 mayā vinā);
 (l) -ai and -i.

1.152.16^{ab} tasmai idam [K₂.4 N₃ T₁ G (except G₅) tasmāc];

3.200.22^{cd} vai iha siddhiḥ (Dc dehasiddhiḥ);

3.1386^k.2 vai iti;

5.166.13^{cd} vai idam yuddham (D₁ yuddham eva; D₃.4 yuddham etad; D₁₀ dvandvauddham);

(m) -ai and -a.

4.53^t vai urvaśyā;

(n) -ai and -e.

1.419^k.2 vai eṣa; 1.1399^o vai ekalavyūn;

(o) -ai and -e.

1.410^k.1 vai rājvākyena;

(f) (a) vīsurya and -a.

4.280^o.1 kāmārtah abaddhiṇi;

(b) visarga and -i.

14.1472^k.1 āyānāḥ indrasya;

III. *Hiatus between words in a pāda.*

A (a) -a and -a.

199.15^d ca omītaradyute [S₁ K N₃ cāpy amītaradyute (K₃.4 tiḥ); N₁.2 B Dn D₂.4 caprarīmadadyute (Dn D₂n 'uḥ); Da vā pratipadyate; D₅ M₃ cāpya (M₃ canvā) maradyute; T G M₆-8 caivomītaradyute];

5.44.17^c tena abhyeti [K₁.4 B (except B₂) Dn D₁-6.10 cābhye (D₂-4 pva) ii];

5.45.3^a āpo iha adbhyaḥ [K₁.4 Ca.s āpo nu adbhyaḥ; Ds D₁₀ T₁ C₅ āpauddbhyaḥ; D₂ apo vasanty atha; D₈ āthāpodbhyaḥ; T₂ C₂.3 (by sandhi) āpoitāddbhyaḥ; C₁.4 āpoitāddbhyaḥ];

5.45.9^b abhipatya apaksakāḥ [K₁ B (B₂ om.) Dn Ds D₂-6.8-10 T₂ G (C₄ om.) M₁ (inf. lin. as in text) ca hy apakṣa (Ds D₈-10 °kva) kṣā; D₁ T₁ tu pakṣikāḥ, Cs to apakṣakāḥ];

5.45.20^a na sādhanā nate asādhanā vā [Dn (first time) Ds D₈-10 T G M₁ Cā asādha (C₄ °dhu) nā vāpi asādha (C₄ °dhu) nā vā];

5.139.5^b eva anayad (K₃ T₂ C₂.5 M₄ 'pṛana°; K₄ D₈ to ana° D₆ svāna°; C₃ hy ana°; M₂.3.5 'pyānayat);

5.160.9^a tathety āha arjunah [K₁.3.3 rathiti tvāhārjunah; K₄ B Dn₁ Ds D₃.6.8.10 tathety uvācā°; D₂ T₂ C₃.5 M₁-3-5 tathe (C₃ °de) ti tvāhā°; D₇ tathety āha tvām arjunah; T₁ C₁.2 (catalectic t) tathety āhārjunah; M₂ (hypermetrich tatheti gatvāhā°)];

(b) -a and -ū.

1.595^k.2 tena ātmāpūṣārakah; 1.146.9^b na āpadah;

3.81.41^a śaṅkhiṇīm tatra āśūḍya (D₁-2 M tota; T₂ C₂ cāsūḍya; S₁ śaṅkhiṇīm tvam samāśūḍya; K₁ B Dc D₃-4.6 T₁ śaṅkhiṇīrttam āśūḍya);

3.134.25^b iha āyānti (S₁ iha yānti; K₁.2.4 D₁ ihāyānti; B₁.3 Dc Dn D₄-6 ima āyānti; B₂.4 M imam āyānti; D₅ ihāyānti); 3222.7^a mama ścaśva (S₁ K₁.2 samāścaśva ca; K₃.4 D₁-3.5 M mānāpy ācaśva; B Dn D₄.6 Cy. 3 mānādyā°; Dc tan mama°);

5.26.13^a mānāghnasya mānakānasya [K₁-3 D₁-8 samāmānāghnasyātma (K₂ D₁ °rtha) kāmānasya; K₄.5 D₂ cd managhna-K₄ °sta) syātmanāghnasya; B Dn. Ds D₃-7 ma (D₆ samā) nāghnasyāsu mānakānasya. D₉ mānārtthasāyātmanāghnasya. D₁₀ Ca. s mānāghnasya mānakānasya; T C₁.3.5 mānāghnasyāpyartha-(T₂ °nārtha-; C₃ °pyātma) kāmānasya. C₂ samāmānāghnasyāmānakānasya; C₄ mānāstasāpy anyakānasya; M mānāmānāś cātmanākānasya (M₁ °ma) nā];

5.246^k.7 neha āyāti (T₁ jānāti; C₄ yāti);

5.525^k mānāvarupe āgnīdhrav;

- 5.148.7^a sūma ādau (T₂ G₁ 2.4.5 cādu; G₃ -bhedam);
(c) -ā and -a.
1.3.126 dṛṣṭva śucy;
1.13.12^d vā adhomukhāḥ (T₂ G₂ 3.6 M₂ hy adho^o);
1.59.12^c prītvā arisṭā (K N₁ 3 V₁ B₃₋₆ D₂₋₃ T₂ G₂ 4 M variṣṭā; N₂ Da Dn D₁ 4 ca viśvā; B₁ T₁ tu arisṭā; G₁ hy arisṭā; G₆ -pyarisṭāḥ);
1.85.8^b tathā śāntim (All except D₂ Dn D₁ 5 tathāśānti^o; N₂ tathāpyaśāntim);
1.107.19^a sicyamānā asṭhīlā (N (K₃ am.) to aṣṭhī (K_o sṭhī) lā; S (T₂ om.) hya (G₃ vya) sṭhīlā);
1.115.25^d tajjyeshṭhā anumanyatām (S₁ K_o 3 N₃ D₅ T G₁ 3-5 memumanyatām; K₂ 4 mānu^o; G₂ hy anu^o; N₁ G₂ tvaṣṭyeshṭhāma (G₂ mo) nu^o; N₂ B Da Dn D₁ 2.4 jyeshṭhā (B₁ 6 Da sṭhe; B₁ m sṭhī) mām anu^o; M₃ 5 devī jyeshṭhānu^o; M₆₋₈ tām (all inf. lin. tam) jyeshṭhām anu^o (all inf. lin. cānu)];
1.148.1^c viditvā apakarṣeyām (S₁ K₁ V₁ B₃₋₆ Dn D₁ M₃ 5 vāpyaapakṣ^o; K_o N₃ D₅ M₃ (inf. lin.) vā hy apakṣ^o; K₂ 4 N₁ 2 B₁ 5 Da D₂ 4 vyanpakṣ^o; TG M₆₋₈ tad viditvāpakarṣeyām (T₁ karṣāmi)];
1.197.16^d maghavatā api (K_o 3 4 D₅ -pi sah; K₂ N₁ V₁ B Da Dn D₁ 2.4 -pi hi; T₃ G₂ 4 -pi ca);
1.218.34^b āryamā api (K₁ T₁ tadā, T₃ G M₃ -pi ca; D₅ tv api);
1.224.5^c santapyanānī abhito (S₁ K_o 1 3 N₁ V₁ D₁ 2.5 oman abhito; K₂ N₂ 3 B Da Dn D₁ omanā bahudhā, K₄ omanā puato; S omanā bhūā ca (G₁ 5 6 M₆ 8 vā)];
3.61.92^b vismitā abhavat (S₁ K B₁ 3 4 Dc Dn D₁ 3 5 hy abhavat; S tvā (G₁ cā) bhava)];
3.127.3^d inahatā api (K₃ 4 D₃ 5 taapi; B₁ T G M₁ pi ca; B₂ Dc Dn D₄ 6 M₂ hy api);
3.133.2^a panthā ayañ tvādyā mayā nīrsto (D₁ 2 3 m panthā mayā teyam athāvasrṣto (D₃ orig. panthā vipro vadati tathāiva tad dhruvam)];
4.204^a vā ahalyā; 4.596^a trigatā asprīṣan;
5.26.16^a yadā anvavartanta (K₂ G₂ cāva^o, K₃₋₅ D₈ tenva^o; B Dn Ds D₂ 7 10 T₂ M₃ nāva^o; D₁ 9 G₃ 4 M₁ 2.4 5 tv anu^o; T₁ G₁ hy anva^o; G₅ apy anva^o);
5.43.34^b maruṣā api (K₁ D₇ -pi hi; B Dn D₁ 6 -pi ca);
5.47.80^a vā apsu (K₁ D₈ vā cāpsu ca te; K₄ 5 B Dn Ds D₂ 7 10 capsu ca te; D¹ vā cāpsu gate; D₉ vābhīpsita te; T₁ G₁ 3 5 M (M₂ om.) vāpy apsu caiva; G₂ 4 vāpsu caiva];
(d) ā and -ā.
1.84.4^d yathā ātmāsaṁ anukūlavēdi (S₁ K₂ 4 yathā cātmāsaṁ; K₁ D₅ yathātmāsaṁ; N₁ B D yathā cātmāsaṁ anukūlāḥ tathāsaṁ (N₃ cātmāvēdi; B₁ Da cātmāsaṁ tathātmā); S (T₁ am.) yadātmāsaṁ (T₂ G₃ yathā cātmā) m apy anukūlavēdi (G₃ vān api)];
3.134.26^b medhayā āvidānāḥ (B Dc D₁ T₂ (by corr.) G₃ āvidānāḥ; Dn D₂ 3 6 vān^o);
(e) -ī and -i.
4.175^a 21 śami iti (T₁ śamīm iti; T₂ G śamīti ha (G₁ hi)];
B (a) -a and -ā.
1.3.80 veda ita;
1.672^a 4 parirakṣa imān sūtam (M₆₋₈ tvam ātmajam);
1.93.34^c sma iti; 1.1481.1^a dahyanta iti;
1.1492^a 1 bhīma iti; 3.24.8^c dharma iti (T₁ M₁ kṣamā);
3.35.11^c vasama ity āha 397.6^d tasya ilvalah (All except T G₃ 4 celva^o);
3.186.88^c mārkaṇḍeya ihāva tvam (T₂ G₂ 4 mahāsatva);
3.199.28^a bahu sañcintya iha vai (S₁ iha sañcintyātmanōpi);

5.31.22^b paśyema iti; 5.140.16^a karṇa ito;

(b) -ā and -i.

1.3.95 bhavatā icchāmsiṣām; 1.33.25^d dakṣiṇā iti.

1.142.76^b āgatā iha (S₁ K N₁ V₁ B₅₋₆ Dn D₁₋₅ I₁ to ita; N₂ B₁₋₃ Da D₂₋₄ °tāsmi ha);

3.3.5^d svapitā iva [S₁ K₃ B₄ Dc D₂₋₅ svapiteta hi (B₄ D₅ he); K₂^a B₁₋₃ Dn D₄₋₆ svapitā yathā];

3.61.20^b priyā ity abravīm tadā [S₁ K₁₋₃₋₄ B Dc₁₋₄₋₆ priyoty asakrd abravīh (K₃₋₄ D₁ D₁ bravīt; K₂ Dn D₂₋₃₋₅ priyāsitīty abravīh sadā (D₂ °ty asakrd vadan; D₃ °ty asakrd bruvan)];

3.192.7^a sa rājā iksvākūh (K₁₋₃ Dc₂ D₅ rājā sa iksvākūh);

4.223^a.3 devatā iva; 5.74.14^b sūcyā ivānagha;

5.140.4^b samuochritā indraketurprakṛṣā (K₁₋₅ D₉ candraketu^o; K₂₋₃ candraketu^o; D₂ candrakalpa^o; G₃ hendraketu^o; G₃ hndraketa^o; M₁₋₂₋₄ sendraketu^o);

(c) -a and -u.

1.194^a āha upādhyāyah; 1.3.96 uttāṅka usyātām;

1.152.163^a pṛavīṣya upādhyāyinim; 1.1674^a.6 paricārya upāmahe;

1.205.22^a brāhmaṇasya upādhyāya [S₁ K₂ N₁ D₁₋₂ G₁₋₄ (by corr.) °ṇasvam npi^o; Ko B₁₋₃ °ṇasvam upādhyāya; K₁ °ṇasvam upādhyāya; K₃₋₄ B₅₋₆ °ṇasvam upādhyāya; N₂ Dn D₄ °ṇam samupādhyāya; N₃ °ṇasvam svamādhyāya; V₁ Da °ṇasvam upādhyāya; D₅ °ṇam samupādhyāya];

3.83.36^b mahārāja upasrjet; 4.861^a.3 daśa usya;

(d) -a and -u.

1.2.150^a rājān ulūkasya preṣaṇān [K₁ rājān ulū^o; K₄ V₁ B (except B₄) D (except D₁₋₄) rājān hy ulū^o; TG₂₋₃ M hy ulūkas tu preṣitab; G₇ hy ulūkas tu prahitab];

1.3.112 kṣatriyā ucchisjena.

1.1245^a.1 tadā uttaraphalgunyān (G₁₋₂₋₄ collara^o; M₃₋₅ fūllara^o);

1.152.13^a tvayā uktaḥ [S₁ Ko₂₋₃ (sup. lin.); 4 tvayāsmi uktaḥ; K₁ °sty uktaḥ; K₃ N₁ B D T G₁₋₄ tvayā hy uktaḥ (Da T₂ °bhyuktaḥ); G₂₋₃₋₆ M °py uktaḥ; G₃ auktāb];

1.189.46^a tvayā uktaḥ (S₁ Ko M toayāpy uktaḥ; K₁₋₃₋₄ tvayāsmi uktaḥ; K₂ tvayāvoktaḥ; N₁ tvayā hy uktaḥ; V₁ tvayā proktaḥ; N₂₋₃ BD toayajoktaḥ; TG tvayā cuktāb);

3.297.41^b pitā uccataras ca khāt [T₁ G₁ M hy ucca^o; K B Dc Dn D₂₋₄₋₆ G₃ khāt pitocataras tathā (K₁₋₂₋₃ °rah sinṭab; K₃ ras tataḥ)];

C (a) -a and -e.

1.141.2^a hidiṇḍa etair vā (S₁ hy etair vā; K₄ taiḥ sarvaib);

5.26.7^a avadhūya eṣa;

(b) -a and -e.

1.59.25^a iarpā ekacakraś ca;

1.90.79 hutvā ekacakraśm;

D (a) -ī and -a.

1.98.8^a antarvatnī ahañ [S₁ K₁₋₂ °raśnīty ahañ; Ko₄ N₂ B D to ahañ; N °rvartiny ahañ; S °rvatny asmti te];

1.114.50^d mīśrakṣā alaṁbūṣā [S₁ K₂₋₄ hy alaṁbūṣā; Ko T G₄₋₆ M to alaṁbūṣā; K₁ hy alaṁbūṣā; N (except N₃) B D (except Dn₃) G₂ to alaṁbūṣā];

(b) -i and -ā.

1.110.28^a yadi āvām (S₁ Ko₂₋₄ D₃ *hy āvām*; K₂ B₁ D₂ D₁ 3.4 G₅₋₆ *āvām*; N₂ B₂ Dn₁ C₃ M *cāvām*; B₃ *to āvām*; T₂ C₁ 2.1 ca tvañ);

(c) -u and -a.

3.1193^a. I tu amī;

(d) -u and -ī.

5.45.7^b madhu īśantas tadā [D₁ juśantaḥ; K₁ D₂ madhv icchantah; B₁ 2 3.5 Dn D₃₋₆ M₁ (inf. lin.) madhv iksan (D₃ °chan) taś ca te (B₁₋₂ 5 °tas tadā) tasyāḥ; B₃ madhv īśantas tadā; D₅ D₈₋₁₀ G₅ madhv īśate tad annu vidhāyinas tadā; D₃ 4 M₅ mulhv īśantas tadā; D₇ T₁ C₁₋₄ C₅ madhv īśate sadā (T₁ C₃ tathā; C₁ 4 C₅ tadā)];

E (a) -e and -a.

1.3.72 utsahe anivedya gurava iti;

1.3.126 me asūcy annam;

1.3.147 tantre adbhimpya (M₁ cādhirapya);

1.41.8^d garte asminn (S₁ K₁ N₃ TG₂₋₄ 5 brahmann; Ko₂₋₄ sarvepya°; N₁₋₂ V₁ B D vyaktama°; G₁₋₆ M *hy asminn*; C₃ tasminn);

1.90.14 jajñe ahamāpāṭiḥ (T₁ aamāpāṭi nāmā);

1.90.17 jajñe arācinaḥ (N₁ 3 aurā°);

1.90.19 jajñe ayutanāyī; 1.90.20 jajñe akrodhanaḥ;

1.90.38 jajñe ajamāḍhaḥ;

1.90.42 jajñe arugvān nāna (N₂ subhaga);

1.90.43 upajeyte amṛtām;

1.119.11^a tathety ukle ambikayā [Ko G₃₋₄ M₆₋₈ 4y anibila (G₃ M₇ °kā) yā; K₂₋₃ N₂₋₃ B₅ Dn₁ n₂ D₁ T₂ G₆ M₃₋₅ *to ambī*°; K₄ N₁ Dn₁ D₃ T₁ *to ambikāyā*; B₆ D₄ sāmbo°; D₂ cāmbikayā; C₁ sāmibikayam; G₂ *to ambikāya*; K₁ *tv abhikāyā*; B₁₋₃ sā tathety ukāmbikayā];

1.207.17^b kule asmin (S₁ kulepy asmin; Ko₂₋₄ N₁ *hy asmin*; K₁ M₅ tasmin; K₂ N₂₋₃ V₁ B D T G M₃ 6-8 lesmin sam-);

1.214.9^a dharmarāje atipriyā (S₁ Ko₃₋₄ N₁ V₁ BD *hy atī*° (Da dyuti°); K₁ *to atī*°; K₂ G₁₋₂ M *hy abhī*°; T₁ prajñāḥ prīṭiḥ; T₃ G₃₋₆ °ny abhī°);

3.36.19^b kṣatre ajyathāḥ [S₁ K₁₋₃ 4 Dc D₂₋₅ kṣatreṇvaja°; K₂ B Dn kṣatreṇu jā° (B₂ kṣatre *to ajā*°); D₄ *tu jīyathāḥ*; D₆ *nu jīyathāḥ*; TG₃ *hy ajā*°; G₁₋₂ 4 M₂ vyajā°; M₁ kṣatrebhyajā°];

3.206.16^d yujyante alpabuddhayaḥ (S₁ K₁₋₂ 4 Dc Dn₃ D₁₋₃ yelpa°; K₃ D₅ *hy alpa*°; B Dn₁ n₂ D₄₋₆ G₃ cālpa°; T₁ G₁₋₂ 4 M svalpa°; T₂ bahvabū°);

5.25.5^a kule anṛtanisā [K₄ *to anṛtanisā*; B D (except D₁₋₂) S *hy anī*°];

5.195.19^d tṛilokyotsādane api (K₁₋₂ tṛilokyadahanasv api; K₄₋₅ B₃₋₅ Dn₁ D₁₋₃ 4.8 G₂ M₄ °tsādane pi ca; B₂ T G₁ M₁₋₃ 5 °tsādane sv api; D₂ G₃₋₅ *hy api*; D₁₀ prabho);

(b) -e and -ā.

1.94.38^d mene ātmānām [S₁ K₁ *hy ātma*°; Ko₂₋₄ N₂₋₃ V₁ B D (except D₃) sotmā° S cātma°; N₁ manasātmanām eva vā];

1.100.2^d nīśithe āgamisyasi [N T₁ *hyā* (D₂ dyu) gamī°; T₂ G₂₋₄ 5 samupe°; G₁ °the py āga°; G₃ M₃ (sup. lin.); 6-8 °thebhyāga°; G₆ M₃ (orig.) 5 nīśyām āgamī°];

1.109.18^b vigarhe ātmakṛāṇīt [S₁ K₁₋₃ 4 T₂ M₃₋₅ *to ātma*°; Ko₂ nātma°; N₁₋₂ Dn Dn D₁₋₄ 5 cātma°; N₃ tvātma°; T₁ G M₆₋₈ tvām aka (G₅ °dha) rmaṇī];

4.35.22^c brhannaḍe ānayethū;

(c) -e and -e.

4.67.5^b me ita śramāt [Ko₂₋₄ N₃ me sa ihā (N₃ *to*) śramāt; K₁ D₂ me sa (D₂ manā) tapodhanaḥ; S (G₃ om.) manā (M₃₋₅ me sa) mahāiapāḥ (T₁ °yāḥ)];

- 1.90.56 uccchidyate in; 3.13.47^c te ime ($\bar{S}_1 K_3 D_{1-3}$ trayo);
 5.184.6^d prabhāṭasānaye iva ($K_{1-2.5}$ yathā; $B_3 D_n D_s D_{1-2.6.8.10}$ tadā; $D_3 C_3$ nra; T G_1 mama);
 (d) -e and -u.
 1.57.20^b kriyate uccrayo [$M_{3.6-8}$ uccrayah krayate; $K_1 \bar{N}_{1-2} V_1 D_n D_{1-3.5}$ Cd -tyuccrayo; $K_{2-4} B_3 Da D_1$ bhyuccchroyo; D_2 hy utsavo; T G kurvanti etc. dhvajocchrayam (C_3 'jotsavam')];
 3.40* paithūngotre utpamo;
 4.25.2^c sarve udikśadhvam ($K B_{1-3} D_n D_{5.11.12} T_2 Ce$ nirikśadhvam; $B_{4.5} D_{1-2.4.7m.8}$ hy udikśadhvam; D_6 bhyudikśadhvam; D_7 vinikśadhvam; D_{10} pratikśadhvam; $T_1 G M$ parikśadhvam);
 (e) -e and -r
 1.3.89 te rāmatī; 1.3.173 te rāvah;
 1.4.1 satru rāṇi abhyūgātāni upasthe [M_5 satre varāmañchhyāgātā (sthe) paurāṇikān rāṇi upa^o];
 1.47.10^a tatas te rāvijās [$\bar{N} V_1 B_{1-3} M$ (except $M_{1.5}$) tatas ta rāvi^o; $M_{1.5}$ caritojāh] I
 1.48.4^c ye rāvijās andasyās ca (C_2 rāvijās ca sada^o);
 1.57.58^b pārāvāre rāṇi sthitūn (K_1 vanam r^o; K_2 pārāvāram r^o; $K_3 \bar{N}_3 B D_{1-2.5}$ vāram r^o; K_4 vāram r^o; $\bar{N}_{1-2} V_1 Da D_n D_{3.4} T M_{6-8}$ pārāvāre sthitūn rāṇi);
 1.90.22 jāṇe icah (Ko cirah; $K_{2-4} B_4$ rāh; $\bar{N}_{1-2} D_n D_1$ 'riho nāma (D_1 nāmatah); B_1 rāh; B_3 vimdāh; D_3 kṣatīh); 1.1049*.1 pāre rāṇi;
 3.83.105^a etc. rāivarāḥ (M_1 'py rāi^o);
 3.111.8^d kriyate rāyāśringah ($B Dc D_n D_{4-6}$ carāya^o; $D_{3.5}$ vai yathāvat; $T_1 C_{1.4} M$ carāya^o); 3.552* samāyāte rāyāśringe;
 3.134.12^b ime rāvah (B_3 dhāāvah);
 5.109.12^a te rāyah (K_2 ta munayah; $T_1 C_{1.2}$ devarāyah);
 (f) -o and -i.
 1.51.8^d atha indrah [$Ko C_2 M_{1.3.5}$ athārendrah; K_2 athaⁿ cendrah; K_3 tatas to indrah; $K_4 B$ (B_2 missing) $Da D_{n1. n2} D_{2-4.6.7} T_2 C_{4-6}$ athā ($B_{3.4} T_2$ yathā; D_{n2} atho) marendrah; $\bar{N}_{1-2} V_1 D_{n3} D_{1.5} C_2$ otho (C_2 yathā) mahendrah; $\bar{N}_3 C_1$ yathā to indrah; T_1 yathā cendrah; $M_{2.4}$ atha to indrah];
 (g) -ai and -a.
 5.42.5* vai asurāḥ;
 (h) -ai and -u.
 1.668^{b.6} sa vai uttamapūrusah (T_2 sa tu vai puruṣottamāḥ M_5 sa evottama^o);
 4.616*.2 vai usitā;
 (i) -ai and -r
 3.114.6^c vai rāyo ($\bar{S}_1 K B_1 D_{3.5}$ dovarāyo; $T_1 C_1 M$ caivarāyo; $C_{2.4}$ evarāyo);

IV. In visarga sandhi hiatus after conversion to -o.

A. Between two pādas.

- 1.48.6^d abhavac chārīgarayo aelhvaryur [$\bar{S}_1 Kc_{2.4}$ 'dhvaryur; $K_3 \bar{N} V_1 M_{1-2.4.5}$ 'thādhvaryur; D_2 hy adhvaryar; T $C_{3.4.6} M_3$ hya (C_4 thā) dhvoryur];
 1.76.35^{cd} hr̥ṣṭo anujñāto ($K D_{3.5}$ sonu^o; $\bar{N}_{1-2} B_{3.4.6} D_n$ 'nujñātotha; $B_1 Da D_{2.4}$ svanu^o; B_5 samā^o; $C_{1.2}$ hy anu^o; C_3 -py anu^o);
 1.158.50^{ab} vājino avadhya ($\bar{S}_1 Ko$ hy avadhya; S manojñā);
 3.80.73^{cd} rantidevābhyānujñāto agnīstomaphalām (B_4 to agnī^o; D_3 hy agnī^o);

3.80.80^{cd} *somo aśvamedham* [Ś₁ K_{2.4} B₄ Dc Dn D₅ *aśvamedham*; K₁ *hayamedham*; B₁ D₃ (sup. lin. as in text)_{4.6} S *vāyā*^o; D_{1.2} *aśvamedhaphalam*];

3.82.128^{cd} *kurvāṇo agnīstomaphalam* (B_{1.4} *hy agnīstomam*; D₃ *to agnīstomam*; T₂ C₂₋₄ *na durgatim avāpnuyāt*);

3.97.4^{cd} *kartavyo aham* (Ś₁ K₁₋₃ B₂₋₄ Dc D_{1.2.5} *to aham*; K₄ Dn D_{4.6} T₁ C₁ M₂ *hy aham*; D₃ *avayam*);

3.110.1^{cd} *ramyo esa*;

3.110.19^{cd} *khyūto aṅgānān* [Ś₁ K D_{1-3.5.6} *tvam* (K₃ *vam*) *gānām*; B Dn₁ S *hy aṅgānām*];

3.187.17^{cd} *sūryo aham* (Ś₁ K_{1.2} B₂₋₄ Dn D_{4.6} *to aham*; B₁ Dc T₁ C₁ M *hy aham*);

3.197.36^{ab} *vedān yo adhiyāta* [B₁₋₃ Dc Dn D_{4.6} C₃ M₁ 'ya (M₁ *hya*) *dhiyād* *dviṣṭapūṇavaḥ*; B₄ D_{1.2} *hy adhiyād* *dviṣṭasattama*; D₅ *hy adhiyeta* *dviṣṭottama*; T₂ C_{1.2} *hy adhiyāno dviṣṭottama*];

3.198.80^{ab} *sarvabhūtadayānto ahimsānirātāḥ* [Ś₁ K D_{1-3.5} S (except C₃ M₁) *hy ahimsā*^o];

4.59.14^{cd} *bhīṣṇo arjunam* [B (B₅ om.) D_{2-5.7.8.10} *pārtham ca*; Dn D_{9.11.12} *pāṇḍavam*; T C₂ M₁₋₄ *hy arjunam* M₅ -*ṣy arjunam*];

5.26.19^{cd} *nopalabhyo atyāśannam* [K D₁₋₄ 8-9 C₂ *labdham santam* (K₃ *avakṛm*; D_{1.3.4} *sarvam*; D₂ *artham*), B Dn D₅ D₅₋₇ D C₅ *sarvam avakṛm* (B₁ *avakarmabdhātām*); T C_{1.3} M *hya* (T₁ C₁ pra) *tyāśannam*; Ca. d *beddham santam*];

5.30.37^{cd} *telhyo anīmayam* [K (except K₄) B (B₁ *missing*) D (except D_{1.2}) C₃ M₂ 'py *anā*^o; T C_{1.4.5} M_{1.3-5} *hy anā*^o];

5.32.19^{cd} *ahīno anāntānīyam* [K₄ *naro nṛānīyam*; B (B₁ *missing*) D T₂ *nara nīrānīyam* (D_{1.9} *ayaśānīyam*)];

B. Between two words in a pada

1.646*.3 *ṛābhyo ṛāyāḥ*;

1.84.13^b *mahato ajayam* [Ś₁ K₁ *yājayan*; Ko *ñ₃ 'jayam*; K₃ *to 'ham jayan*; K₄ D_{3m} *toham jayan*; *ñ_{1.2}* B D *o_s cājayam*, S *toham* (T₁ C₅ M₇ *toyam*) *jāyeyam*; K₂ *'jayam*];

1.91.3^c *takāḥ rājarāyo āsan* [N (B₃ *marg.*) *hy āsan* (B₃ *orig.* *rājan*); T₂ C_{1.2.4.5} *surve*; T₁ C₃ G M *rājarāyas tathā* (C₆ *da*) *surve*; 1.1159*.1 *mṛgo ṛṣir*;

1.147.2^b *roravūho anūthavat* (Ś₁ K₁ *tv amūthavat*; Ko.2-4 *ñ_{1.3} to anūtha*^o; D_{4.5} T C *hy anūtha*^o; M *karuṇam vilāpīyatha*);

1.149.6^d *śreyo ātmavado* (Ś₁ K_{3.4} D_{1.5} *nātma*^o; Ko.2-4 *ñ V₁ B Da Dn D_{2.4} T₁ C_{3.4.6} M *śreyān āma*^o; K₁ T₂ C_{1.2.5} *hy atmā*^o);*

1.149.7^d *śreyo ātmavado* [Ko.2-3 *nātma*^o; K₄ *śreyān nātma*^o; *ñ_{1.2}* V₁ B D *va* (Da pa) *nam āma*^o; *ñ₃* C₂ M *kulas to ātmavado* (*ñ₃* *to*); T C_{3.4.6} *kṛtas to āma*^o; C₅ *pratyanvāyo hi budhyate*];

1.167.21^a *rakso atitum* (Ś₁ K *ñ₁* *bhaksayitum*);

3.116.15^c *kopo agacchat* (Ś₁ K_{3.4} D₅ *vyagacchat*; K_{1.2} D₂ C₄ M 'py *aga*^o; B Dn D_{1.4.6} T₂ C₁₋₃ 'bhyaga^o; Dc 'dhyagād vai; T₁ *hy agacchat*);

3.221.45^c *nīpatanto odṛśyanta* (Ś₁ K_{1.2} B_{1.3.4} *hy adṛ*^o; B₂ Dn D_{4.5} T C₃ M₁ 'bhyadṛ^o; D₆ C_{2.4} *vyadṛ*^o; G₁ M₂ 'py *odṛ*^o);

5.44.15^d *sūryo ahnīya jāyato* [K₁ *sūryohnīya prajāyāte*; K₄ *sarvam ahnīya*; B Dn D₁₋₆ *sūryopya* (B₃ D₅₋₆ *hyo*) *hnāya*; Ds *sūrya āhvayate sadā*; T₂ *sūryo brahmā by ajāyate*];

V. *Hiatus in a compound.*

1.16.35^d *nārāyaṇagauragataḥ* (Ko.2.4 D₃ °vibhāsagatāḥ; K₁ °sirogatāḥ; Ñ₃ C₂₋₅ M °śiropagatāḥ; K₄ °man-gatāḥ; D₂ °īramagatāḥ; T C₆ ra ca nārāyaṇagatāḥ);

1.2033^a.3 *dvijarājyaṅgāmāca*;¹⁴

3.93^a.3 *surāṅgimānavārcitām*;

3.40.54^b *caḥsuḥ pūrcarjyā bhavān* (K₂ divyāny astrāni yān bhavān; K₄ pūrcavibhāvanām;
S (T₂ C₃₋₄ om.) pūrcam munir bhavān);

3.148.13^a *sāmāyajurgonṛtāḥ*;

VI. *-n treated as -n.*A. *When it follows -r.*

1.41.5^d *garbhatānis trāṇmā* (Ś₁ K₁ tantrāⁿ; Ko.2.4 tāṇis trāⁿ; Ñ₁₋₂ V₁ B₃ Dn D₅ T C₂₋₄₋₆ svatrāⁿ; Ñ₁ B₁₋₂₋₄₋₅ Da D₃ 4.6.7 °iteṣu trāⁿ; D₁ svatrāṇām; D₂ śrāṇ svatrāⁿ; C₁ M (M₂₋₄ om.) rtesmāṇis trāⁿ; C₃ svatrāⁿ);

1.53.18^a *teṣṭilo* (D₃₋₅₋₇ te caṣṭike);

1.68.6^d *anulāṇmā*;

1.70.4^d *sthāyāmi te jñāyā* (T C (except C₆) °mi cāñyā);

1.71.6^d *vavire* "niravāṇi";

1.198.19^a *manyate* "tmānām" (Ś₁ hi svām, Ñ₁ V₁ rājan);

3.113.6^d *paryāvartte* "ramāya";

3.158.58^a *gaccha te jñānā* (N tat tavā (D₅ °tva) jñānā);

3.178.38^a *bubudho* "tmānām";

3.226.1^a *nādrīyante* "jñānā" (Ś₁ K₁ 2 B₁ tvām; T₁ M °amān; C₄ lāmān);

3.252.9^b *bhūyate* "tmānāḥ" (Ś₁ K₁₋₂ B₄ D₁ (by corr.) punat);

5.103.19^a *manyase* "tmānām", 5.149.42^d *manyate* "tmānām";

B. *In vīsarga sandhi.*

1.71.22^b *janavanāṇo* "nānāhe" (Ñ₁, BD (except D₃) °gocare (B₅ rah; D₃ raiḥ); T C₄₋₆ M₁ °gān mukhe, C₁ 2 °gān mune; M₅₋₈ °ge mukhe);

1.168.21^c *tasya rājāno* "jñāyā" (Ko.1 Ñ V₁ B D (except D₃) rājānas tasyāñyā; S tasya rājānoḥ sa (C₃ °aya rājāñyā);

1.218.14^d *jāladhānāmuco* "kulān" (Ś₁ K₁ 4 B Da Dn D₄₋₅ °dhārāsāmakulān; Ko.3 T₁ C₁₋₂ M₁₋₅ °muco-tulān; K₂ D₁ bahūn; Ñ V₁ °mucoantarāt; D₂ °dhārām tatotulām; T₁ C₁ 4 °muconilān; M₆₋₈ °dhārā mumocivān);

3.97.6^d *bhinkatavān avuro* "hvānām";

3.113.7^a *bhinvatu* "ramāyā" (Ś₁ K₁₋₂ B₁ D₃₋₅ T₁ C₁₋₃₋₄ M₂ bhavadāśramāyā; K₄ Dn₁ °tān-ramāyā);

3.175.2^a *yān* "hvayad"; 3.197.44^a *dvijān* "tmānām" (Ś₁ K₂ B Dc Dn D₃₋₄₋₆ T₁ sa svām ātmāⁿ; K₁ svātmāⁿ; K₄ D₂₋₅ svayām ātmāⁿ);

3.198.1^a *dvijān* "tmānām" (Ś₁ K₁₋₃ B₂₋₃ Dc Dn D₃₋₆ C₃ sa sva (B₂ tva) m ātmāⁿ; K₄ D₁₋₃ svayām ātmāⁿ);

3.267.40^b *vrajāto* "jñāyā" (T₁ mayā; C₁ yathā);

4.21.20^a *alamakāra* "tmānām" (K D₂₋₄₋₇ 9 cātmānām; M svām deham; B Dn D₅₋₆ 8-10 12 alām (D₁ svām) cakre tad-tmānām; T C alamakāram cakrānām);

¹⁴ Though the sandhi of r- after any vowel except the last four, is optical, still the form is rarely found in literature.

- 5.110.20^b yo" imānam : 5.149.42^b so" tuvānam;
 5.164.6^b sañbhito" śramavāsini;
 5.166.5^b sūto" tṛṇabalasānistavam [K₄ B Dn Ds D₃₋₄ 6-8-10 sataḥ svalabalasānistavam;
 D₂ T G M₁ (inf. lin.) sataḥ ātṛṇabalasānistavam];

VII. -a and -ā == a in a pada

- 1.17.23^c ~~praveritam~~¹⁵ [T₁ G M₃₋₅ pravēpitam (G₆ °coditam; T₂ °vepitā (sup. lin. pracaditā))];
 1.76.73^d nirmālyeva praveritā [T₂ C₂ 4 5 visarjīṭā; G₆ nirūktā; M₃ pravāsitā; M₈ pravēṣitā; N V₁ B D nirmālyam iva cojjhitā (D₅ °lyeva pravārītā); T₁ G₁₋₃ °lyavad upekṣitā];
 5.173.5^d praveritā (K₄ prabodhitā; K₅ B₁₋₂ 5 Ds D₇ 10 S pravēṣitā; B₃₋₄ pracaditā; D₂₋₄ pracaditā);

VIII. Double crasis when

(A) Visarga preceded by -a and followed by -a.¹³

1.116*.3 parityāgombhikāśutāt; 3.58.32^c atonimittam;

(B) Visarga preceded by -a and followed by any vowel except -a.

- 1.3.146^b śrutaseneti [D₂ S (G₁ iasīng) °sena iti śrutāḥ];
 1.21.17^c asankhyacyeti (Da asāṅkhyāye"; Dn n; D₁₋₃ 6-7 °khyā iti; D₄ T₁ °khyam
 iti; M₂₋₄ °yam iti tvāḥam);
 1.44.20^d nānāstiketi¹⁶ (S₁ K₁ °stika iti śrutam);
 1.57.31^c rājopariṇivṛty evam; 1.536^c mahākāleti;
 1.115.20^a jyēṣṭham yudhiṣṭhīrety ahar (S yudhiṣṭhira iti jyēṣṭham);
 1.115.20^b bhīmaseneti nudyantam [K₃ senam tu; T G bhīmam ity eva (T₂ G₁₋₂ 6
 bhīma ity eva); M (M₅ om.) dvitīyam bhīma ity api];
 1.115.20^c arjuneti tīthiyam [S (M₅ om.) tīthiyam arjunam iti (G₁₋₂ M₃₋₆ 8 °na iti)];
 1.115.21^a pūrvajam nakulety evam [S (M₅ om.) °kam ceti];
 1.115.21^b sahadaveṣi cāparam (T₁ °devam athāparam; G₁₋₂ 6 °devam tathā¹⁷);
 1.127.21 arjuneti janah kaścit kaścit karneti bhārata |
 kaścid dattmodhanety evam bruvantah prasthitiḥ tadā ||
 1.147.21^d sopasarpali [S₁ K₁ N₃ °kam mno (K₁ so) patiḥhati; K₂ °kam sopasar°;
 K₃ °kam copatiṣṭhate; K₄ °kam sobhiṣṭhata, N₁₋₂ B₁ 5-6 Da D₁₋₄ T G₁₋₃ °kam upasa°;
 V₁ B₃ Dn °kam anusa°; D₅ °kam samusa°; G₅ °kam apasa°];
 1.169.8^a tītety [T₂ G (except G₂₋₃) M (except M₅) tātam tvam];
 1.223.5^d lalīhānopasarpali (Ko prasarpali; K₂₋₄ N₂ B₃ Dn D₄₋₅ T G₅₋₆ M₅₋₈
 visarpati; K_{4m} N₃ B₁₋₅ 6 Da visarpitā; V₁ avasarpati; G₁ 4 api sarpati; M₃ vanas-
 patin);
 3.327*.2 tvaramānopacnakrame;
 3.106.2^c vasudevety; 3.125.28^c mūndhāteti;
 3.132.6^b kahodeti (B_{1m} kahodita iti; K₂ B₂₋₄ Dc Dn D₄₋₆ kahoda iti);
 3.163.33^d sopaciyata (S₁ K smopaciyate; D₃ T₁ G₁₋₄ copaciyate; M₂ sarvas tair
 upaciyata);

¹⁵ We get this form from pra + aya + īṛta.

¹⁶ In the previous atanza of the same adhyāya we get a correct sandhi (astika ity uta).

3.198.72^c adharṁeti [K₁ B_{2.4} D_{2.3.5} adharmaḥ syāt; Dc adharṁesu; T₁ adharṁas ca]; 3.207.12^a sopāsarpaḥ];

3.221.77^a mahāsenety evam uktvā [K₁ C₂ °senam tv evam; B_{2.4} D (except D_{1-3.5}) °senam evam; C₃ evam uktvā mahāsenam; G₄ surātmaḥam tv evam uktvā];

3.249.6^b koṭikāśyeti (B₄ ś cān); 3.250.4^b koṭikāśyeti

3.254.10^d bhṁcti; 3.290.21^d evopacārah (B₁₋₃ Dc₂ Dn₂ D_{1.2.5} evo°; Dn₁ N₃ D_{4.6} C₃ eva°;

3.293.12^c vasuseṇety;

4.9.9^d tantipālety; 5.139.10^a vasuseṇety;

5.143.12^c sūtiputrety;

5.145.36^a karaṇahinety (K_{1.2} D_{2.7} C₂ °hinoyam; K₄ B Dn₁ Ds D_{1.6.8.10} M_{1.2} °hinatvāt; D_{3.4} °hinas tu; D₉ °hino vai);

5.187.25^b tatolukārame (K_{1.2.5} tatbhārcikārame, K_{3.4} B Du₁ D₁₋₄, 6.8.10 G₁ M₄ tatolukā°; D₇ tathā kaṇvā°).

(c) Visarga preceded by -ā and followed by -a or -ā.

1.21.6^d pannagābhavan (Ko_{2.4} Ds phatino; K₁ cāhavo; for pannagī);

1.58.50^b pīlavāḥastaprabhaḥ [B (except B₆) Dn D₃ °vāsāḥ sīti°];

1.87.18^b vasumanāhravit [N̄ B D C₃ vasumān ahrā°; T₁ M (except M₆) vasumanāś cābra°];

1.98.31^a tām sa dirghatamaṅgeṣu [S (except C₆) aṅge (T₂ C₃₋₅ °gaṁ) dirghatamāḥ tām aṁ (T₂ G_{1.24.5} °mās tasyāḥ)];

1.119.14^d pāṇḍavābhavan [N (K₁ om.) tejasā° (B₆ Da te tadī)];

1.1361.*2 cotkaṅṭhitābhavan;

1.124.25^d vismitābhavan (Ś₁ K₁ vismayam yayuḥ; D₄ °tānanāḥ; T₂ C_{4.5} prekṣya sarve savismayāḥ);

1.128.12^b bhāṅṭrathyaḥam [Ś₁ K D₅ jāhnavyām (Ko_{3.4} °vyāḥ) aham; C₂ thyāḥ tvam];

1.154.24^d bhāṅṭrathyaḥam (Ś₁ K jāhnavyām aham);

1.1882* sāparādḥāpi (Ko₃ sāparādḥā hi; K₃ D₃ °dhā hi; B₅ °dhā hi; D₂ svaparādhepi; Ś₁ K₁ svāt parād vāpi K₂ B₆ Da D₄ svaparād vāpi);

1.189.11^c tasyāsūbinduḥ (K₁ V₁ B₃ Da T G (except G_{1.6}) tadā (T₃ dā) ūru°); 1.1990.*2 ucchritābhavan;

1.200.11^b prīṭamanābhavat [N (except N̄₁ V₁) °manās tadā (D₄ atathā)];

1.201.10^a devābhavan bhītā [N bhayam cakruḥ (Ś₁ N̄_{1.2} B₆ Da Dn jagmuh)];

1.208.14^a apsarāsmi (Ś₁ Ko_{1.4} N̄₁ D₅ °rā hy amsi kaunteya);

3.17.4^b gaṅṭrābhavan (S tadā);

3.19.2^d pare ca muditābhavan (K₂ B Dn D_{4.6} bhīṣam; S (except M₂) sālvat pramuditobhavat);

3.25.2^a samāsmābhīr (K₃ Dn₂ sahā°; T G M₁ dvādaśernāni varṣān);

3.25.22^a sahītābhīpetur (T₂ C_{3.4} sahasā°)

3.39.19^d prīṭamanābhavat;

3.80.21^d prīṭamanābhavat (B₁ D₃ prīṭobhavat tadā; M₁ (prīṭamā abhūt);

3.81.131^c sarasvatyāruṇyāś ca (Ś₁ D_{1.2} sarasvatyarūṇā°);

3.684.*2 sahītānagha;

3.166.8^d dūnavābhavan (K₁ D₅ sthitāḥ);

- ✓3.176.36^a tasyān^hthāyā [Ś₁ K₁₋₂ katham tasyām an^hthāyā; K₄ D₁₋₃₋₅ G₁ M₁ katham tasyā hya (D₃ M₁ a-; C₁ -pya) nāthāyā; B Dc Dn D₄₋₆ tasyā^h katham (B₄ katham tasyā) tv anāthāyā]; 3.187.1^a dev:pi (K₁ na);
- 3.207.7^b angir bhavati;
- 3.211.9^b angir^a tāt [Ś₁ K₂ B Dn₁₋₂ D₄₋₆ T₂ C₃ angirā^h tāt; K₄ Dc Dn₃ D₁₋₃₋₅ cāstjād am (D₅ am) girā^h];
- 3.215.13^b sahiti bruvaṇ (Ś₁ sahasā^o; B₁ sarvato^o; D₃ to saha^o);
- ✓3.265.20^c parādār^amy¹⁷ alabhyā (K₁₋₂ D₁ na; C₂₋₄ M₂ hi).
- ✓4.13.14^a parādār^ami (Cep^a dārē^h ama^h; Csp anyadārē^hama);
- 4.455^a.1 vyathit^a bhavaṇ (T₂ viśmayam gat^a);
- 4.61.5^d tvari^a bhyu^apeyū^h (B₄₋₅ D₁₋₃₋₅₋₆₋₈₋₁₀ tva^arayā^o);
- ✓4.67.18 samastēksauhit^apālā;
- ✓5.4.15^d pācīm^a n^a pakāś ca;
- 5.10.39^b vitimir^a bhavaṇ (D₁ vitamaso^o);
- 5.10.46^c bhiti^a bhavaṇ;
- ✓5.30.32^d āvasath^a pramattā^h (K₁₋₃ Dn M₃ āvasathā^h);
- ✓5.37.21^c ucit^a varudd^a h [K₅ B₄ Dn D₃₋₇₋₁₀ T₂ var^a (D₇ u) cit^a vai virudd^a h; Dc ucitā^a cāva^o; D₁₋₂ uci (D₂ kupi) tā virudd^a h T₁ C₁₋₃₋₅ M ucit^a parād^ah (C₃ dhāt);
- 5.86.16^d vyathito viman^a bhavat (S₁ vimanā vyathitobhava^a);
- 3.111.16^c garhaṇ^api (K₁₋₂ Dn₁ D₁₋₄₋₈₋₉ gā^a h);
- D^a or -a followed by any vowel except -a or -ā.
- 1.11.13^b jāyati parā śruti^h (K₂₋₃ jāyat^a; K₁ te ha; N̄ B Da Dn D₁ bhavati; V₁ te hi; C₂ jāyate paramā śruti^h);
- ✓1.144.11^c vasat^a ha¹⁸ (Ś₁ K₁ vasanto hi);
- 1.198^a.1 n^a rhateti;
- ✓3.170.5^d kim idam drīyateti vai (Ś₁ K₁₋₂₋₄ D₁₋₂ o^aetra; D₅ T₁ puram; B Dc Dn D₄₋₆ kim idam vartatedbhutam);
- 3.177.22^b vidyateti ha; [Ś₁ K₁₋₂ bhavati ha; K₃ B₂₋₃ Dc Dn D₄₋₆ T₁ M₁ vidyateti ca (B₃ Dc T₁ M₁ ha); K₄ D₁₋₃ vidyate tv itī (D₂ yathā u^a); B₄ vidyate tathā; B₁ vedyat ti ha; D₅ bhav^a tv iha];
- 3.200.26^b mriyati m^a h^a (Ś₁ K₁₋₂₋₄ D₁₋₃ mriyate pram^a h^a h^a; K₃ Dc₁ Dn D₄ C₄ M₁ mriyat^a m^a h^a h^a; D₁₋₅ mriyate lalet);
- ✓3.230.8^c śasaty evam; 5.29.2^b iāmyateti;
- 5.105.8^a karisyeti (K₁₋₂ D₁₋₇₋₁₀ Karom^a);

IX. Miscellaneous.

- 1.124.8^b vidur^a nugato (for viduro^a nugato) (N̄₁₋₂ Dn nirgato viduro; B Da D₁₋₄ viduro nirgato; T₁ D₃ viduron^a);
- ✓1.209.10^d hasat^a pi (for hasato^a pi) (N̄₁ svairēv api; D₃ sahas^a pi);
- ✓3.37.16^{cd} an^a dhī^a ya abhedyakavac^a v^a t^a h (for anā^a dhī^a yo^a bhe^a);
- ✓3.133.18^b brahmodyam (for ?) (Ś₁ K₄ D₁₋₂ T₁ C₁ brahm^a dyā vai; K₁ brahm^a dibh^a h^a; K₂₋₃ B₄ Dn D₄₋₆ brahm^a dvaitam; B₂ brahmadvaitam; D₃ T₂ C₂₋₄ brahm^a dyam vai; D₅ brahmagnam vai);
- ✓5.40.9^a ajokā candanam (for ajokā^a candanam or ajokā^a candanam); [K₁ D₇ C₃₋₅ ajokā^a (C₅ o^a h^a); K₄ D₂₋₅₋₆ T₁ M ajokā^a; D₃₋₄ ejoka h; D₈ C₁₋₄ ajokā^a h];
- 5.48.2^a u^a anā ca [K₄ D₈ D₁ T₂ C₁₋₃₋₅ M (except M₁) u^a anā^a ca];
- ✓5.80.17^d pras^a t^a grabhuk (for pras^a t^a grabhuk);

¹⁷ Do we get the form from *paradāṣā* (fern. sing.) + *ami*? Mar the mas. sing. 1, 173.24^c (*avadāre*) and 4, 13.15^a (*paradāre*).

MAHĀBHĀRATA MANUSCRIPTS IN THE TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY COLLECTION¹

By

P. K. NARAYAN PILLAI

I describe² below some manuscripts of the Mahābhārata in the Travancore University Collection.

ĀDI PARVAN (Complete Mss).

1. No. 4883 begins with 1.1.5.³ after the two benedictory verses (i) *Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya* etc., and (ii) *pārāśarya vacaḥ* etc., and extends up to the end of Ādi (1.260.21). Devanāgarī characters, Indian paper—14" × 6½", Folios—350; Lines (to a page 10—12; Letters (in a line)—40 in the text and 50 in the commentary.

¹ Under the auspices of the University of Travancore, a collection of ancient Oriental Manuscripts was begun in 1938 with a view to organising a library for the furtherance on Oriental studies and research. During the short period of five years (1938-43)—too short a period indeed when the success achieved is taken into account—some 14000 codices comprising not less than 18000 works were collected and deposited in the library with all necessary arrangements for their safe preservation and with all facilities for making them accessible to the world of scholars. The Curator's collection which enshrined the invaluable treasures published in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series has also been merged into this collection making the total number of codices not less than 17000 comprising nearly 22000 Mss. The Manuscript Library of His Highness the Maharaja is another big collection of ancient and valuable manuscripts deposited at the Fort Trivandrum. Both the Palace collection and the Curator's collection are descriptively catalogued and the complete set of catalogues in 23 volumes is available at the Government Press, Trivandrum.

² Every manuscript (Ms.) is described in two sections. In the first section are given, (1) The serial number of the Ms. in the Library Register, (2) The extent of the Ms., (3) Characters, (4) Materials, (5) Size, (6) Number of folios, (7) Number of lines to a page, (8) Number of letters in a line, (9) Date given in the Ms. The second section contains information regarding (i) The present condition of the Ms., (ii) Writing, (iii) Marginal notes or additions, (iv) Method of pagination, (v) Number of chapters, (vi) Nature of Colophons, (vii) Commentary if any, and (viii) Other portions of the Mahābhārata and other Mss. in the codex. Other relevant information regarding the Ms. is also given in the section.

³ Reference is made to the Kumbhakonam Edition (K. Ed.) of the Mahābhārata, Nirmaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1907 A. D.

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute's Critical Edition (B. O. R. I. Ed.) 1.1.1.

MO-III Bk Y 62—7a

The Ms. is in good condition but a few folios here and there are slightly subjected to the ravages of worms. Writing is good, legible and uniform. The end of every hemistich is marked by two vertical red lines. The statements such as *Vaiśampāyana uvāca* etc., and colophons are written in red ink. The marginal lines are also in red ink. Folios have serial numbers. On the margin to the left is written "bhā ā" evidently the abbreviation for Bhāratam Ādiparvan. And on the right margin of every folio is written "Rāma". The colophons generally read.....iti Mahābhārata Ādiparvaṇi. But occasionally it gives the name of the upaparvan or upākhyāna. (See fols. 210; 226 etc. In this Ms. there are 215 chapters corresponding to which the Kumbhakonam Edition (K. Ed.) has 260 chapters.⁴

The Ms. contains the text and the commentary *Bhāratārīha-dīpikā* by Haribhaṭṭa.

2. No. 10011. begins with 1.1.5.5.⁵ after the benedictory verses (i) *jayati Parāśara-sūnuh* etc., (ii) *Parāśaryavacaḥ* etc., and the passage *om nāmo bhagavate Vāsudevāya* etc., and extends up to the end of Ādi (1.260.21).⁶ Devanāgarī characters; Indian Paper - 17½" × 6½"; Folios - 472; Lines - 9; Letters - 40. Date - Śaka-1675 (A. D. 1753).

The Ms. is in good condition but a few folios at the end are damaged to a certain extent. Writing is tolerably good. Colophons and fragments like *Yudhiṣṭhira uvāca* are painted with a pigment of orange colour. On the left and right margins of every folio are seen written "Ādiparvan" and "Rāma", respectively. The folios are given serial number. No. 4 is given to three folios, No. 243 to two folios, No. 354 to two folios, and No. 381 to two folios. The colophons do not give the number of chapter. The Ms. contains 245⁷ chapters.

The Ms. was copied in Śālivāhana Śaka 1675=A.D. 1753. (See Colophon—*Śālivāhana Śaka 1675 varṣe Śrīmatkṛta nāma saṁvatsare* etc.,—fol. 472). It was copied by Maṅgalavyāsa a son of Vārāṇasī. (See the colophon—*Vārāṇasyātmajena Maṅgalavyāsenā Ādiparva likhitaṁ idam*. fol. 472). The Ms. contains the commentary—*Bhāratākūṭacandrikā* by

⁴ B. O. R. I. Ed. has 225 chapters.

⁵ Ibid., 1.1.1.

⁶ Ibid., 1.225.19.

⁷ Ibid., 225 chapters.

Ratnagarbha, son of Hiraṇyagarbha who is the son of Mādhava. (See colophon on fol. 472).

3. No. 10137 A. begins with 1.1.5.⁸ after the benedictory verse—*Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya* etc., and the passage—*om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya* etc., and extends up to the end of Ādi (1.260.21)⁹ Devanāgarī characters; Indian paper—15" × 6½"; Folios—364; Lines—12-13; Letters—42-44.

The Ms. is in good condition. It cannot be very old. The writing is good. The verses are numbered. The end of every hemistich is invariably indicated by two vertical lines. Such lines are also used to serve the purpose of a full stop. The copyist has used the margin also wherever he felt the necessity of a little more space to complete a verse in the text or a sentence in the commentary. (See fols. 281; 341 etc., etc.). On the left margin of the folios is written Ādi or Bhā. Ādi and on the right one appears either Rāma, or Heramba or Śrī. The folios are numbered. The colophons mention sporadically *parvan*, *upaparvan* and *upākhyāna* but not the number of chapter.

The Ms. contains the commentary *Bhāratabhāvadīpa* by Nīlakaṇṭha, a son of Govinda-sūri.

4. No. 3405. begins with the benedictions *śrī Gaṇeśāyanamaḥ*, *śuklāmbara-dharam* etc., and three other benedictory verses. (1.1.2 and two others). Then the text proper begins with 1.1.5.¹⁰ and ends with the last verse in Ādi (1.260.21)¹¹ Devanāgarī characters; Hand made paper—15" × 6½"; Folios—222; Lines—12-14; Letters—56.

The Ms. looks very old and the writing has faded to a certain extent. Yellow pigment is applied to a few folios here and there. The Ms. begins on the second page of the first folio. The writing is legible. The end of every hemistich is marked by two vertical red lines. Red pigment is applied to the colophons. The folios are numbered on the second page. On folio 3^a verses 1.1.89-92¹² which are wanting in the original Ms. are written on the upper margin. On the lower margin are written six

⁸ B. O. R. I. Ed. 1.1.1.

⁹ Ibid., 1.225.19.

¹⁰ Ibid., 1.1.1.

¹¹ Ibid., 1.225.19.

¹² In B. O. R. I. Ed. these verses are not seen.

verses 1.1.109—114¹³ which are not included in the original Ms. Such marginal additions are seen on a good many folios, written apparently by more than one hand. In this, Ādi is complete with 247¹⁴ chapters. Many colophons that do not mention *upaparvan* or the name of the chapter or *upākhyāna* are met with herein.

5. No. 5877. The text proper begins with 1.1.5¹⁵—and runs to the end of Ādi. Malayalam characters; palm-leaf—26" × 2"; Folios—244; Lines—9; Letters—76.

The Ms., even though not in a damaged condition, appears to be of fairly good antiquity. The borders of the folios are worm-eaten. The upper edge of the first folio is so damaged that the benedictory verses in the beginning could not be read. Writing is very legible and fairly good. There is hardly any correction or over-writing. Two folios each are numbered 106 and 107. The folios are numbered by akṣaras.¹⁶ In this Ms. Ādi comprises 256 chapters of which 197 belong to the Sambhava. (See colophons on folios 242 and 244).

ĀDI PARVAN (INCOMPLETE MSS.)

6. No. 5550. begins with 1.1.5¹⁷ after benedictions (*Anantaśāyi saḥāyam* and the verses—1. *śuklāmbaṛadharam* etc., 2. *yasya dvirāda-vaḥtrādyāḥ* etc., 3. *namo dharmāya mahate* etc., 4. *Vyāsam Vasiṣṭhana-pīṭham* etc., and ends with Sambhava, 1.213.27.¹⁸ Grantha characters; palm leaf—15½" × 2½"; Folios 164 (excluding the four extra folios), lines 12; Letters—40.

The Ms. is not at all injured. In the writing two hands can be distinguished. The first is tolerably good but the second is shabby and the letters are too small. Only 143 folios are numbered. The portions 1.39.37—1.123—parallel to 1.99.26—1.189.22¹⁹ in K. Ed. is wanting in the Ms. Colophons give *parvan*, *upākhyāna* and *adhyāya*.

¹³ Ibid., these verses are not seen.

¹⁴ Ibid., 225 chapters.

¹⁵ Ibid., 1.1.1.

¹⁶ *na* 1; *na* 2; *nya* 3; *ṣya* 4; *jtra* 5; *kā* 6; *ba* 50; *tra* 60; *tru* 70; *cha* 80; *ṇa* 90; *nā* 100.

¹⁷ Ibid., 1.1.1.

¹⁸ B. O. R. I. Ed. does not contain this chapter.

¹⁹ Ibid., 1.69.18 to 1.162.....K. Ed. 1.189.22 is not seen in the parallel chapter B. O. R. I. Ed. 1.162.

At the end a folio contains some portion from *Mahābhārata* and another one contains some portion from *Yuddhakāṇḍa* in *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the second page of the latter folio is seen an index of *parvas* in the *Mahābhārata*. There is a blank folio each at the beginning and at the end. These four folios are not included in the number 164 given above.

7. No. 4214. After the benediction *Śrī Rāmachandrāyanamah* and the benedictory verse *vāgīśādyā* etc., the text proper begins with 1.1.5²⁰ and extends up to 1.108.12^{a 21} in *Sambhava*. Telugu characters; Palm leaf— $16\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$; Folios—173; Lines—8; letters—56.

The Ms. looks very old and ill-preserved. Two folios at the end are worn out on both the left and right sides. Writing is good and legible. On the margin of fol. 1^a to the left is inscribed—*Śrī Venkṭācalapati egati Bhāratam Adīparvam*. The beginning of a chapter is indicated by a cross like diagram on the margin. The folios are given serial numbers on the above page. Usually the colophons give the names of *upaparvan*, *upākhyāna* and the number of *adhyāyas*. But occasionally we see long colophons stating many other usual things.

8. No. 2291 begins with 1.1.18²² and contains the rest of *Ādi*. Grantha characters; palm leaf— $16\frac{3}{4}'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$. Folios—294 (excluding the three missing ones No. 1, 154, and 155, and including the eight damaged folios at the end for which new folios are supplied.) Lines—10; Letters—48.

The Ms. looks very old and is rather in a worn out condition. The sides of the folios are invariably worn out, and the inside is also seen worm-eaten here and there. The eight folios at the end are very much dilapidated. The sixth one is reduced to such a size that it serves only the purpose of an indicator of the former folio. The Ms. is renovated once. In the place of the old 64th folio there appear two new folios both numbered as 64. The old folio No. 173 is also replaced by two new folios. At the end there are twelve new folios the originals of which are tacked on to the end. All these sixteen new folios are written by the same scribe

²⁰ Ibid., 1.1.1.

²¹ Ibid., 1.95.8^a.

²² B. O. R. I. Ed. 1.1.10.

but evidently different from the scribe of the original. The original writing is rather minute but it is fairly legible. It is of a fixed style and by the same hand. There is very little of erasures and corrections. The renovator had to write two folios for every original folio. According to the last colophon the Sambhava parvan is divided into 183 chapters. (See colophon of fol. 286). Āstika and Pauloma together have 42 chapters. (See colophon fol. 59). So on the whole there are 225²³ chapters in Ādi. The colophons as a rule give the name of *parvan*, *upa-parvan*, *upākṣhayāna* (See Śākuntale fol. 102) etc., and the number of the chapter. But occasionally they make some omissions also. The Ms. is not less than 300 years old.

9. No. 2370 begins with 1.1.5²⁴ and extends up to a portion in the 38th chapter in Sambhava parvan, i.e., up to 1.96.52.²⁵ Grantha characters; palm leaf—18½" × 1½"; folios—142; (excluding the blank folios at the beginning and end and 2 old folios at the beginning); Lines—8—9 Letters—60.

The folios do not seem to be very old but their sides are mutilated. To the end, nearly fifteen folios have lost more than two inches of their lower segment on the left hand side.

The holes on folios 4—26 meant for stringing them together have widened and have slightly obliterated this writing. The writing is fairly good and very clear. In the beginning two folios are re-written on new palm leaves but the originals are still kept there. Between the original folios 32 and 57 there appear eleven new folios of which the lower segment of 7a is left blank. These folios look definitely newer than those on which the first two folios are re-written. So, it is clear that Ms. was renovated twice. Folios are sometimes seen wrongly paginated. The last colophon in the Ms. reads—"iti śrī sambhava-parvaṇi sapta-trimśo adhyāyaḥ" (Fol. 141) In this Ms. *Sūtaḥ* is used instead of *Sautiḥ*. The Ms. is not worn out very much and does not create an impression of great antiquity.

10. No. 3456. After benedictory verses the text proper begins with 1.1.5²⁶ and extends up to a portion of the 27th chapter in Sambhava

²³ Ibid., 225 chapters.

²⁴ Ibid., 1.1.1.

²⁵ Ibid., chapters 89 to 100 in K. Ed., describing Śākuntalopākṣhayāna have no parallel.

²⁶ B.O. R. I. Ed., 1.1.1.

i.e., up to 1.85.11^{ab27}. Grantha characters; palm-leaf—16½" × 1¼"; Folios—133; Lines—9; Letters—48.

The Ms. is in a dilapidated condition. Some folios (like 59, 60 etc.) are damaged beyond repair. Folios 77, 81, 86, 97—100, 102, 108, 113—14, 121, 125, 129—31, are new ones but they are also subjected to the ravages of worms. So it follows that the Ms. got damaged on account of negligence and not due to its age. This is also supported by the not-too-dirty appearance of the folios. The writing is fairly good. The colophons in the Ms. generally give the name of the work, *upaparvan* and number of the chapter.

11. No. 8300-A. Seven benedictory verses appear at the beginning and the text begins with 1.1.5²⁸ and extends up to the 40th chapter in Āstika (1.59.10)²⁹ Malayalam characters; palm leaf—19" × 2"; Folios—60 (excluding the folios of other *parvans*); Lines—9; Letters—55; Date—M. E. 983—A.D. 1808.

The Ms. is in good condition. It has not been used very much. The name of the scribe is Subrahmaṇya (See fol. 10^b). The writing is excellent. The *upākhyānas* are mentioned on the margin by the original scribe. On the margin of folio 3^b the verse 1.1.189³⁰ is written. This is omitted in the body of the Ms. The folios are given serial number using akṣaras. This is a common feature of Malayalam Mss. For the 40³¹ chapters (*iti.....Āstike catvāriṃśo adhyāya. Fol. 60*) in the Ms. the K. Ed. has 59 chapters. In certain colophons the title of the work with its usual attribute a *Saṃhitā* of a lakh of verses, name of *parvan*, *upaparvan*, *upākhyāna* and *adhyāya* and the number of *adhyāya* are given. (See folios 6^b, 60^b.)

The first chapter in the *upaparvan* *Aṃśāvataṛaṇa* is absorbed into the Āstika. In Malayalam Mss. it is seen that the *Aṃśāvataṛaṇa* is not recognised as an *upaparvan*. (See below Malayalam Mss.).

Two folios are seen at the beginning, one with the *parvan* index to the whole *Mahabharata* and the other with a subject index to *Adi* up to

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.86.11ab.

²⁸ B. O. R. I. Ed. 1.1.1.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.53.36.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.1.111.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 53 chap.

Astika. At the end are seen a few blank folios "among which a folio numbered as five contains verses from the Udyogaparvan. This contains the colophon at the end of the 7th chapter in Udyoga.

The Ms. is only a portion of the codex 8300 which contains Udyogaparvan also.

12. No. 10483. After the benediction *hariḥ śrī Gaṇapataye namaḥ* the text begins with 1.1.5³² and extends up to 1.59.10³³. Malayalam characters; palm-leaf—16½" × 1½"; Folios—72; Lines—8; Letters—56.

The Ms. is not very old and is in good condition. The writing in the Ms. is nothing less than an excellent piece of art. Folios are given serial number using *aḥṣaras*. For the 40th chapters in the Ms. (see the last colophon.....*Āstike catvāriṃśo adhyāya*) there are 59 chapters in the K. Ed.; colophons generally mention only the upa-parvan and adhyāya.

13. No. 10584-A. The text proper (1.1.5)³⁵ begins just after the simple benediction *Harīḥ śrī Gaṇapataya namaḥ*. The Ms. extends up to 1.59.10³⁶ Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—9½" × 1¼"; Folios—98; Lines—9; Letters—36.

The Ms. is eaten here and there by worms. Still it is in a fairly good condition. Three folios (76-78) in the middle are broken. It looks older than 200 years. Writing is good and very legible. The first folio is not numbered but marked *śrī*. The folios are given serial number using *aḥṣaras*. *Upaparvan* and chapters are only generally mentioned in colophons.

This Ms. is only a part of the codex No. 10584. The other part contains another work.

14. No. 10174 begins with a benedictory prose passage and the verse *Nārāyaṇam nameskṛtya* etc. The text proper begins with 1.1.5³⁷ and

³² B. O. R. I. Ed. 1.1.1.

³⁴ Ibid., 53 chapters.

³⁶ Ibid., 1.53.36

³³ Ibid., 136.36.

³⁵ Ibid., 1.1.1.

³⁷ Ibid., 1.1.1.

ends with 1.35.4³⁸; Devānagari characters; Hand-made paper—13" × 6½"; Folios—48; Lines—12; Letters—36.

The Ms. is in fairly good condition. The handwriting is rather ugly. Only the first forty folios are numbered.

In a few pages here and there spelling mistakes are seen corrected. The correct syllable is given on the margin. In a separate folios—verses 1.1.49–74³⁹ are written with the direction in Marāṭhi—*dūsarya patrica śodhana patra hoy*. These verses would have otherwise been omitted in the Ms. This is written by the same hand that copied the Ms.

The Ms. is from Mahārāṣṭra country as is clear from the direction in the supplement to folio 2.

15. No. 1250⁴⁰ begins with the benedictory verse "*Sarasvatī namas tubhyam* etc. The text proper begins with 1.1.5⁴⁰ and runs up to 1.29.5⁴¹ (*bhṛūṇahatya tu*). Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—6¾" × 1¼"; Folios—30; Lines—6; Letters—20.

The Ms. is so damaged that to handle it without further damaging it is impossible. Some folios, especially the last one, are broken. The writing is legible, but not attractive. This Ms. is only a part of a codex containing two other works more.

16. No. 12530. begins with the benedictory verse *śuklāmbāradharam* etc. The text proper begins with 1.1.5⁴² and extends up to 1.29.5.⁴³ Grantha characters; Palm leaf—17¼" × 1¾"; Folios—38 (excluding a blank folios at the beginning and eighteen written folios and two blank folios at the end); Lines—9–10; Letters—50.

The Ms. looks rather a new one. The black pigment that is usually applied to make the writing clear is applied only to folios 2, 3 and 9. The writing is good, the style is uniform, and the letters are small. The folios contain correct serial numbers. The last colophon—*iti āstīke dvādaśo adhyāyaḥ* (Fol. 38^b) shows that the Ms. contains the first 12 chapters completely and a portion of the next chapter. In K. Ed. nearly 29

³⁸ Ibid., 1.31.4.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 1.1.1.

⁴² Ibid., 1.1.1.

³⁹ B. O. R. I. Ed. 1.1.—54–6.

⁴¹ Ibid., 1.1.205c.

⁴³ Ibid., 1.25.5.

(BORI Ed. 25) chapters correspond to this Ms. In the colophon *upaparvan* and *adhyāya* are mentioned.

Eighteen written folios found at the end appear to contain a portion of some commentary on the Mahābhārata.

17. No. 10504-B. begins with 1.1.5⁴⁴ after the benediction "*Harī śrī Gaṇapataye namaḥ, avighnam astu*" and contains the beginning portion of Ādi up to 1.5.24.⁴⁵ Malayalam characters; Palm-leaf 24" × 2"; Folios—16; Lines—7-9; Letters—90.

The Ms. looks very old and is considerably damaged. The last folio is broken. Most of the folios are brittle and full of small holes and depressions due to the ravages of worms. Even the side boards look damaged. The writing is not very attractive, but it is legible and of uniform style. The folios are numbered serially by *aṅgaras*, but the number is visible only on a few folios since the margin on the left hand side is worn out in the case of many folios.

The codex contains the Ms. of Udyogaparvan also, and it appears to be old.

18. No. 2989. After *Harī śrī Gaṇapataye namaḥ* the text proper begins with 1.60.1⁴⁶ and extends up to the end of Sambhava parvan (1.191.61).⁴⁷ Grantha characters; Palm Leaf—21" × 1½"; Folios—229 (excluding the blank folios at the end); Lines—6-9; Letters—48-52.

The Ms. is in good condition even though the edges of a few folios at the beginning are spoiled by white ant and some folios are damaged to a certain extent. The writing is legible. Two different styles are noticed in the writing but this need not necessarily mean the Ms. was copied by more than one hand. Verses 1.128.22^{cd}, 1.128.67^{cd}, 1.129.65^{cd}—68^{ab}, and 1.140.66^{ab} are inscribed on the margin of the folios, 102^a, 104^b, 107^b, and 132^b respectively. These passages are omitted in the body of the Ms. The writing on the marginal space is very much cramped and

⁴⁴ B. O. R. I Ed. 1.1.1.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.5.19^c.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.54.1.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, The verse is not seen. Chapter 1.165 is parallel to chapter 191 in K. Ed.

illegible. It is written by the same hand. Such marginal additions are seen on folios 136, and 167 also. The addition looks comparatively fresh. So it is clear that somebody has made this addition at a time later than that of the copying of the Ms. Here and there some corrections are also seen in the Ms. Folios 160 and 215 are not numbered. According to the last colophon—" *iti sambhave pancaviṃśacchatatamo adhyāyāḥ* " (fol. 229) the Sambhava parvan has 125 chapters.

Of these 125 chapters, the first six are the last six chapters of the Aṁśāvatarāṇa parvan seen in K. Ed. Thus it is seen that recension merges the Aṁśāvatarāṇa in the Sambhava. (See below No. 5035).

19. No. 5035 begins with 1.60.1⁴⁸ after the benediction *Hari śrī Gaṇapataye namaḥ, avignnam astu*, and extends up to the end of Ādi (1.260.21).⁴⁹ Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—12" × 1½"; Folios—176; Lines—10-12; Letters—52.

The Ms. is not very old and is in good condition. The last folio alone is slightly damaged and broken. The writing is excellent. Folio 64^b is left blank. Folios are numbered by *aḥṣaras*. No. 133 is seen repeated once. The Ms. contains 200 chapters parallel to chapters 60-260⁵⁰ in the K. Ed. According to this Ms. the 200 chapters it contains constitute the whole of Sambhava. So, in the recension represented by this Ms. Aṁśāvatarāṇa, Jatugṛha etc., up to Mayadarśana, are not recognised as *upa-parvans*. (See other Malayalam Mss.) Colophons usually give *upa-parvan* and *adhyāya*.

A folio that contains all the 248 *vīṇyadī vākya*s is tacked on to the end.

20. No. 10562 begins with 1.60.1⁵¹ and extends up to the end of Ādi. (1.260.21).⁵² Malayalam characters; palm leaf—20" × 1½"; Folios—198 (excluding a blank folio each at the beginning and end); Lines—10-11; Letters—65.

The Ms. is old but is in good condition. The writing is very beautiful, legible, and of uniform style. Occasionally some letters are scratched off as wrong by putting a dot over them. The margin is very clean but for

⁴⁸ B. O. R. I. Ed. 1.54.1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.225.19.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, chapters 54-225.

⁵¹ B. O. R. I. Ed. 1.54.1.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 1.225.19.

the serial numbers in *aḥṣaras*. Folios 148 and 168 are numbered 149 and 169 respectively but there is no break in the continuity of the text. So, even though the last folio is numbered 199 (the first folio is not numbered) actually there are only 198 folios.

On the whole there are 200 chapters in the Ms. (See colophon *Sambhava parvaṇi doṣṣatattamo adhyāya*, Folio 198). Colophons generally state only the name of the upaparvan and the number of the chapter.

In the Ms. the Aṁśāvatarana is not recognised as a separate upaparvan.

21. No. 8299 begins with 1.60.1⁵³ (after the benediction *Hari śrī Gaṇapataye namaḥ avighnam astu*) and extends up to the end of Ādi. (1.260.21).⁵⁴ Grantha characters; Palm leaf—18" × 2"; Folios—258 (excluding the two blank folios and two folios of subject index at the beginning and three blank folios at the end). Lines—8; Letters—48.

The Ms. is in good condition and is not very old. The writing is fair and legible. The folios are given serial number. The Ms. contains 200 chapters that constitute the Sambhava. The portion corresponding to this in K. Ed. has 201⁵⁵ chapters (60–260) (See above—No. 5035).

22. No. 10642 begins with (Sambhava) 1.60.1⁵⁶ after the benediction *Hariḥ śrī Gaṇapataye namaḥ, avighnam astu*; and extends up to (Sambhava) 1.129.88⁵⁷ Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—11" × 1½"; Folios—168; Lines—8; Letters—30.

The condition of the Ms. is good but it looks pretty old. The writing is bold, clear and of uniform style. The margin is left blank. Folios are numbered by *aḥṣaras*.

The Ms. contains 62 chapters (See colophon —*iti sambhava parvaṇi doṣṣatattamo adhyāya*—Fol. 168) for which the K. Ed. has 70⁵⁸ corresponding chapters. Colophons generally give *parvan* and *adhyāya* only.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1.54.1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.225.19.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, There are only 172 chapters.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.54.1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.114. is the corresponding chapter, but the verso is not seen.

⁵⁸ B. O. R. I. Ed. has 61 chapters.

On the side board is written *Itappalli Mathaḥilvaka Sambhava-parvam ādi*, i.e., the Ms. which contains the beginning of *Sambhava* belongs to *Itappalli Matha*.

23. No. 11038 begins with 1.60.1⁵⁹ and extends up to a portion of the third chapter in the *Caitraratha upa-parvan* (1.181.7)⁶⁰ Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—21" × 2"; Folios—117, (excluding three blank folios at the beginning and four at the end). Lines—8-9; Letters—70-80.

The Ms. looks very old and the edges of the folios are slightly damaged. But the writing is not at all mutilated and the Ms. is in good condition. The writing is legible and shows a fixed style. But it is not so beautiful as the writing in Ms. No. 10562. There is practically no correction or overwriting. Serial number of the folios is given on the marginal space. As is usual in Malayalam Mss., the number is indicated by *aḥṣaras*. The last folio has no serial number. The Ms. contains only 114 chapters and a portion of the 115th chapter. The corresponding portion in the K. Ed. has nearly 122⁶¹ chapters. In the colophons are generally mentioned the name of the *upaparvan* and number of *adhyāya*.

The opening portion *śrutvā tu sa* of the beginning verse is obliterated. In the same verse the portion *abhyāgachad ṛsi* was originally omitted by the copyist but the necessary space for inscribing it was left blank. This lacuna is found filled on a later occasion by a different hand.

All the colophons mention *Sambhava parva*. So, the *upaparvans*, *Aṁśāvataṛaṇa*, *Jatugṛha*, *Hiḍimbavadha*, *Bakavadha*, and *Caitraratha* are not recognised as such; on the other hand they are taken to be parts of *Sambhava*.

24. No. 161 begins with 1.85.8⁶² (*Sambhava*) and extends up to a portion of 155th chapter in *Sambhava* i.e., up to 1.245.6;⁶³ Grantha characters; Palm leaf—16½" × 1½"; Folios—196 (excluding the folios of other parvans at the end) Lines—10; Letters—64.

The Ms. looks very old and is in a damaged condition. Two folios at the beginning and four at the end have lost considerable portion on the

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.54.1.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 102 chapters,

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.155.7.

⁶² B. O. R. I. Ed. 1.86.8,

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1.213.5.

right hand side. Some folios (Ex. 130, 246-287, etc.) are almost missing. Writing on the upper segment, to the left hand side, of the eleven folios in the middle (120-130) is mutilated to some extent. The sides of folios are also slightly worm-eaten. In the place of the folio 126, appears two main fresh folios both numbered 126. This shows that the Ms. was once repaired. The writing is legible and good. There is neither correction nor any marginal addition. The pagination is faulty in the case of certain folios. (See 244-238-242-240-239 etc., etc.) But the text is continuous. The Ms. contains chapters 28-155 of Sambhava. In K. Ed. chapters 85-245⁶⁴ form the parallel portion. Generally colophons mention *upaparvan* and chapter.

The twelve folios at the end contain portions of Pauloma and Āstika in Ādi. The Ms. may be estimated to be 300-500 years old.

25. No. 10597 begins with (Sambhava) 1.130.1.⁶⁵ and extends up to the end of Ādi (1.260.21).⁶⁶ Malayalam characters; Palm leaf— $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$; Folios—154; Lines—10; Letters—55.

The Ms. is in good condition and it does not look very old. But on account of the ravages of worms the last two folios have become fragile. In the middle also portions of some folios are eaten by worms. The writing is excellent due to the uniform formation, beauty, and legibility of letters. There is very little correction in the Ms. Pages are numbered by akṣaras as is usual in Malayalam Mss. The Ms. has 138 chapters parallel to 131 chapters (130-260)⁶⁷ in the K. Ed. The Ms. represents the recension in which there are 200 chapters in the *upaparvan* Sambhava. (See colophon on fol. 154^b).

The colophons sporadically give the name of the work, *parvan*, *upaparvan*, and *upākhyāna*, and the name and number of chapter.

II. SABHĀ PARVAN (Complete Mss.)

26. No. L. 199⁶⁸ begins with 2.1.2. after *Hariḥ śrī Gaṇapataye namaḥ* and extends up to the end of Sabhā 2.103.39. Malayalam characters; Palm leaf— $22'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$; Folios—183; Lines—7; Letters—48-50.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 86-213 chapters.

⁶⁵ B. O. R. I. Ed. 1.114.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.225.19.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 112 chapters (114-225).

⁶⁸ L. shows that the Ms. is taken on loan and deposited in the Library.

COLLECTION

The Ms. is a very old one and its sides are much injured. Worms have also destroyed some portions on the upper side. A few folios are broken and partly lost (See Folios 151 and 152) and a few others are brittle. The writing is shabby but shows a uniform style. The folios are numbered serially. The Ms. has 114 chapters corresponding to 103 in the K. Ed.

The colophons generally mention the *parvan*, *upaparvan*, and the name and number of the chapter.

The Ms. appears to be very old.

27. No. 2565 begins with 2.1.2 (for the Ms. does not contain any benedictory verse) and extends up to 2.103.39. Grantha characters; Palm leaf—17" \times 1½"; Folios—176; Lines—8; Letters—48.

The Ms. is not very old and is in good condition. The writing is fair and legible. On the first folio at the top is noted the variant *kim cakōro mahōtejōs tan ma* (See 2.1.2) for the original 'Pāṇḍavāḥ kimaḥkurvonto sarvaṃ' by a different hand. It may be noted that the variant noticed by the later text corrector agrees with the K. Ed. At the top of the folio No. 35 is written 2.20.21^d—23, a portion which was omitted by the original scribe in the Ms. The omission was due to the scribe's mistaking the expression, *Pāṇḍavegau ca prastastuḥ* of 2.20.21 for the same expression found in 2.20.23. also. The correction agrees with the text of the K. Ed. On folio 36 the hemistich *saṃutpannas tu śūdrāyaṃ Gautamaḥ śaṃsitavratoh* is shown to have the variant—*saṃutpādyā svajāyāyōm Gautamōdīn śubhavrātān*. The parallel in K. Ed. agrees with neither of these. Here and there some spelling mistakes are also corrected (See Fol. 26).

The Folios are numbered. No. 91 is repeated once. The Ms. contains 119 chapters (Colophon.....*ekonavimsacchatata mo adhyāyah* Fol. 176) parallel to 103 in K. Ed. Occasionally only one meets with long colophons.

28. No. 8301-A begins with 2.1.2. without any benediction and contains the whole of Sabhā (i.e. the portion up to 2.103.39) Grantha characters; Palm leaf—19" \times 2½"; Folios—63; Lines—10-13; Letters—82-85; Date—M. E. 980—A. D. 1805.

The Ms. is neither very old nor worn out, nor does it appear to have been used much. The letters are small, neat and legible. On the left hand side margin of the most of the folios is seen inscribed the subject index by

a different scribe on a later occasion. The very same subject index is written in a folio at the beginning by the original copyist. Corrections are few and far between. Folios are given serial number. The Ms. has 114 chapters (See colophon.....*caturdaśa-śata-tamo adhyāyaḥ* Folio 63^v). K. Ed. has only 103 parallel chapters. Generally the colophons give only *parvan* and *adhyāya*. (See Folios 62^v; 61^v etc.). Occasionally long colophons are also seen (See Folio 2^v, 63^v).

The codex also contains *Virāṭa parvan* and a portion of *Vana Parvan*. The original owner of the codex was Cokkal Mahārāja. The scribe was one Rāmasvāmin the son of Sahasranaman, who belonged to Puttur, Kāveripattanam, Cholaदेश (See Folio 63).

29. No. 10508-A begins with 2.1.2 after the benediction *Gaṇapataye namaḥ*, and extends up to the end of *Sabhā*. (2.103.39). Malayalam characters; Palm Leaf—20" × 1½"; Folios—125 (excluding a missing folio); Lines—9; Letters—65.

This palm leaf Ms. is very old and damaged to a great extent. The sides are worn out and the inside is eaten by worms in a destructive manner. Two folios at the end and one in the middle (See Fol. 97) are broken. There are some more fragile folios. The writing is good and of fixed style. The folios are numbered but the number is not generally visible due to the fact that the margin is worn out, and eaten by worms. The colophons as a rule include the name of the work, *parvan*, *upaparvan*, *upākhyāna* and name and number of *adhyāya*. The Ms. contains 114 *adhyāyās* parallel to 103 in the K. Ed.

The Ms. appears to be very old.

The codex contains portions of *Āśvamedhika* and *Bhīṣma parvana*. From the inscription on the side board it is clear that the codex originally belonged to Iḍappalli Maṭha.

30. No. 10574 begins with 2.1.2 after the benediction 'Harīḥ śrī Gaṇapataye namaḥ avighnam astu' and runs up to the end of *Sabhā* (2.103.39). Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—15" × 1½"; Folios—155; Lines—8; Letters—60.

The Ms. is in good condition but it looks pretty old. From the upper side worms have eaten into the Ms. The writing is as good as any high class printing. In addition, it has the special value of being written by

an iron stylus on palm leaf material. The Ms. contains no correction. The pages are numbered by aksaras. There are 115 chapters instead of 103 in the K. Ed. Colophons generally contain parvan, upākhyāna and adhyāya.

31. No. 10612 begins with 2.1.2 after the benediction *Harīḥ śrī* etc., and extends up to the end of Sabhā 2.103.39. Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—12" × 1½"; Folios—173; Lines—8; Letters—45.

The Ms. is in a fairly good condition. It cannot be very old. Nor is it used much. The writing is of average beauty and neatness. Here and there some corrections of spelling mistakes are seen inscribed on the margin. The folios are numbered by *akṣaras*. There are 104 chapters parallel to 103 in the K. Ed. In the colophons only *parvan* and *adhyāya* are seen generally.

The last folio contains an index of all parvans from Sabhā onwards.

32. No. 6927 begins with 2.1.6 after the benediction *oṃ namaḥ śrī paramātmāne* and extends up to the end of Sabhā 2.103.39. Devanāgarī characters; Old Indian paper—12" × 5½"; Folios—120; Lines—9-10; Letters—36-46; Date—Samvat 1656 (A. D. 1599).

The Ms. is in tolerably good condition even though it is very old. The white colour of the paper has faded to a considerable degree. Folio 70 and 71 are missing. The writing is of average legibility and neatness. The Ms. is amplified by a later writer. (See Folios 13, 14 and 120 etc.). Spelling mistakes are also seen corrected. Red pigment is applied over the colophons. This pigment is also used to mark the end of every hemistich. The folios are numbered. The colophons generally make mention of parvan, upaparvan and the theme but only two of these are found at once in a colophon. (See colophons on Folios 120, 121, etc.).

After the colophon at the end of Sabhāparvan is seen written *Saṃvat 1656 varṣe proṣṭapati budhe likhitam*.

From a note written by one who is different from the original copyist, at the end of the Ms. the following facts can be gathered. 1. The Ms. was copied by Haribhai. 2. at Ahamadabad, 3. at the instance of Vanavāli vaisṇava.

33. No. 7085 begins with Sabhā 2.1.6 after the benediction *Nārāyaṇam namaḥṛitya* etc. and ends with 2.103.39 the last verse in Sabhā

Devanāgarī characters; Old Indian Paper— $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$; Folios—72; Lines 13–16; Letters—46.

The Ms. is fairly old but is in good condition. The writing is of a fixed style and letters are tolerably legible. Red ink is used to mark the end of hemistiches and to write the colophons. The verses are also numbered. The original scribe himself has written certain verses which he has left out in the Ms., on the margin. (See Folios 3^b, 25^a, etc.,) On Folio 6^a is seen an elucidatory note on verses 2.5.24–25 and on 6^b is seen a similar note on 2.5.41. Two verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa which are connected with 2.11.32, in the Mahābhārata are quoted on the top of the folio 13^a. These notes are written by the same hand. On the margin of every folio the name of the parvan (Sabhā) is given. The folios are numbered. The Ms. contains 74 chapters parallel to 103 in K. Ed. The colophons are not uniform. They give sporadically *parvan*, *upaparvan*, *upākhyāna*, and name and number of *adhyāya*.

34. No. 10137-B begins with 2.1.6. after the benedictory verse *Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya* etc., and runs up to the end of Sabhā (2.103.39; Devanāgarī characters; Indian paper— $15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$; Folios—131; Lines 11; Letters—48 for the text and 64 for the commentary.

The Ms. is in good condition. Yellow pigment is applied to some of the folios. Red ink is used to mark the end of hemistiches. Writing is legible and is of uniform style. On the left margin are seen *bhā sabhā* and *saṁ* and on the right margin are seen *Rama* and *Heramba* sporadically. The folios are numbered. The verses are also numbered.

There are 80 chapters. The colophons do not contain the number of the chapter but it is given in numerals after the colophons.

At the end is written the first verse in Vanaparvan. This is followed by a subject index pertaining to Sabhā.

SABHĀ PARVAN (INCOMPLETE MSS.)

35. No. 8665 begins with 2.1.2. without any benedictory passage and contains the whole of Sabhā but for the two chapters at the end (up to 2.101.67). Telugu characters; $17\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$; Folios—160; Lines—6; Letters—65.

This is an old and a slightly worn out Ms. Some folios are a bit worm-eaten. The writing is tolerably neat and legible. The end of every *adhyāya*

is marked by a cross like diagram on the right hand side margin. The Ms. contains 115 *adhyāyas* complete (See Colophon on fol. 160^b) and a few verses from the next. Parallel to 115 chapters in this Ms. the K. Ed. has only 101 chapters. The verses eight in number on fol. 160^b which belong to chapter 116, are not found in the K. Ed. Generally *parvan* and *adhyāya* are only mentioned in colophons.

The Ms. looks old.

36. No. 6928 begins with (Sabhā) 2.1.6. after the benedictory passage *śrī Gaṇapatye namaḥ* and the verse *Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya* etc., and ends with 2.27.14^c. Devanāgarī characters; Indian paper—12½" × 5½"; Folios—64; Lines—8-9; Letters—32.

This looks a very old Ms. but it is not much damaged. Writing is bold and clear. Colophons are made distinct by the application of red pigments; It is also used to illuminate fragments like *Vaiśaṃpāyana uvāca*. The folios are numbered. There is no marginal writing of any kind. The colophons mention the *parvan* and the theme, but not the chapter.

37. No. L. 898 begins with 2.1.2 after "hari śrī" etc. and extends up to 2.14.21^a. Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—15½" × 1¾". Folios—17; Lines—10; Letters—60.

The Ms. is neither very old nor damaged to any tangible extent. The lower part of the left margin of the folios is worn out, but the writing is not at all obliterated. The writing is very good. The letters are small but very neat and of uniform size. There is practically no correction in the Ms. Marginal space is left blank. The folios are not numbered. There are 14 chapters complete and a portion of the 15th chapter parallel to 2.1.1.—2.14.21. (Chapter incomplete) in the K. Ed. The colophons mention only the *parvan* and chapter.

The codex also contain some Mss. of Kathakali works i.e. literary texts for the famous Kerala Kathakali dance.

38. No. 1237 begins with 2.5.109^b and extends up to 2.103.18. Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—21" × 1½"; Folios—176; Lines—6; Letters—56.

The Ms. looks very old. The borders are much worn out and a few folios are broken. Writing is clear but not attractive. Scratches and corrections do not disfigure the Ms. The folios are numbered by

aṅśaras ; but the number is visible only on a few folios for the margin of many of the folios is worn out. According to this Ms. Sabhā has 115 chapters, parallel to which the K. Ed. has only 103 chapters. In Ādi the Malayalam Mss. have less number of chapters but in Sabhā they have more chapters than those in K. Ed. Colophons sporadically give *parvan*, *upa-parvan*, name and number of *adhyāya*.

The Ms. seems to be old.

39. No. 380-B begins with 2.35.19 and extends up to 2.95.18^{ab} ; Malayalam characters ; Palm leaf—16½" × 2" ; Folios—51 ; Lines—7 ; Letters—48.

The Ms. is a very old one and is considerably damaged. The borders of all the folios are very much worn out and there is not a single folio that retains its original rectangular shape. All the folios have become brittle. Some of them are broken. The hole through which the string passes has got widened in the case of all the folios. So, this is a well thumbbed Ms. The writing is shabby and not uniform but it is tolerably legible. The folios were originally numbered by *aṅśaras*. The number is partially seen on a few folios. The Ms. contains 107 *adhyāyas* (See colophon*saptasatataṃ adhyāyaḥ* fol. 51). Corresponding to these 107 chapters, the K. Ed. has only 95 chapters. The colophons usually give *upaparvan* and *adhyāya* only. Occasionally it gives the name of the chapter. At the end there are two written folios. In these the last one contains some Mantra portions.

This Ms. is the last part of a codex ; the other part begin a Ms. of Bhāgavata Daśamaskandha. The codex may be very old—⁶⁹

⁶⁹. In the Travancore University Collection there are not less than 210 Mss. of the Mahābhārata which pertain to the remaining sixteen parvans.

PALÆOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON AN ANCIENT
PALM-LEAF MANUSCRIPT OF JAYATĪRTHA'S
PRAMEYA-DĪPIKĀ

By

Moreshwar G. Dikshit

In the Collection of Manuscripts preserved in the Museum of the Deccan College post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, there is one palm-leaf manuscript entitled the Prameya-Dīpikā, which has been deposited in the Institute on loan by Mr. H. G. BENERI, M.A., of Hāveri, a research student of the Institute. It is reported to have been acquired by him at Hāveri in the Dharwar District of the Bombay Presidency, along with several others now kept in the Institute.

The manuscript is written or engraved on palm-leaves and consists of 124 folios, all of which are fairly well preserved. Each folio measures about 18½" in length and 1½" in breadth. In the centre of each folio there are two small holes about 7" apart, through which a string passes and by which the manuscript can be tied into a bundle. It has two wooden boards on the outer sides slightly larger than the size of the folios. On the top of one of them are engraved the words "Gītā-Bhāṣya-Tīk(ā)" evidently to distinguish the manuscript from the other rest.

On an average there are six lines on each folio, very carefully engraved and each line contains about 52 words. The handwriting is very neat and there are very few mistakes, some of which have been corrected in the margin of the folios by indicative marks like the *Kāḷa-pada* and other signs. The manuscript is incomplete. Its text runs into eighteen adhyāyas but some portion in the beginning of it and towards the end is lost.

Prameya-Dīpikā represents a gloss on the well-known commentary on the Bhagavad-Gītā by Ānanda-Giri. Its author Jayatīrtha,

according to the colophon appearing at the end of each adhyāya,¹ was a pupil of Ānandgiri. The latter is better known to scholars as Madhvācārya, the founder of the Viśiṣṭhā-dvaita school of philosophy and is said to have flourished in 1200 A.D. His Gītā-Bhāṣya is very widely studied.

Aufrecht² records only one manuscript of Prameya-Dīpikā, but from the mention of this work in the descriptive Catalogue³ in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, it seems that this commentary is very well known in South India. A printed text of this work is available, published by the Gujarati Press of Bombay in 1935, which is edited by G. S. SADHALE along with ten other commentaries on the Bhagavad-Gītā.

The main object of this note is to study the palæographical changes noticed in palm-leaf manuscripts wherein it would be proved that some of them have to be attributed to the writing material used for them.

The script of a palm-leaf manuscript suffers on account of the delicate nature of the leaf itself and the limited space available for the letters to be engraved upon it. Though the palm-leaf had its own advantages in the absence of any better material, on account of the varying lengths in which it could be obtained, the breadth of the folio remained uniformly the same and thus put a limit to the number of lines on each folio. Some space from it had to be allotted to the central holes necessary for tying the manuscript in a bundle and even some more had to be provided so that the written text may not suffer by the widening of these

¹ The following colophons occur at the end of the respective Adhyāyas:

(a) इति श्रीमदानन्दतीर्थ भगवत्पादाचार्यविरचिते श्रीमद्भगवद्गीताभाष्यस्य टीकायां जयतीर्थ-
मुनिविरचितायां प्रमेयदीपिकायां द्वितीयाध्यायः—॥ श्री ॥—॥ (Folio 101a.)

(b) इति श्रीमदानन्दतीर्थ भगवत्पादाचार्यविरचिते श्रीमद्भगवद्गीताभाष्यस्य टीकायां जयतीर्थ-
मुनिविरचितायां प्रमेयदीपिकायां पञ्चदशोऽध्यायः ॥—॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥—॥ श्री ॥—
(Folio 101a.)

(c) .. अष्टादशोऽध्यायः ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥ श्रीकृष्णमीनारायणाय नमः ॥
सर्वविद्याप्रथमं ज्ञानं कारणं विमलहृदं पुस्तकं संप्रवक्ष्यामि प्रीता मन्तु भारती ॥ करकृत
अपराधः क्षंतुमर्हति संतः ॥
(Folio 124b.)

² *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I. p. 199.

³ Sastri, *An Alphabetical Index of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*, part 1, p. 467 foot-note.

holes by constant use. Besides, the nature of the leaf did not allow any ornamental or curvilinear forms of letters to be engraved on it, on account of the veins in the leaves. Many angular characters in the palm-leaf manuscript therefore appear to have a linear or straight form which effected some changes in the formation of the characters, which would have appeared in a different form had the writer used any other material than the simple leaf. This difficulty is particularly noted when more than one component words (Joḍākṣaras) had to be compressed within a limited space even if the exact value of the letters was already settled in the age in which the manuscript was written.

The pointed steel stylus with which the palm-leaf manuscripts were engraved does not seem to have helped the writer in any appreciable way to improve his mode of writing as it could only be used on the leaf in a certain direction, either upwards or downwards, and its use in any other way would have proved injurious to the leaf by damaging certain medial letters, either by scratching the leaf in an undesirable way or by tearing it off completely. Still from the minuteness of details occasionally noticed in manuscripts it is obvious that this kind of damage was less subjected when the leaves were still green and not tough as they become afterwards. There is reason to believe that the manuscripts were written on the leaf before they were sufficiently dried up.

After stating the difficulties encountered in the engraving of palm-leaf manuscript which by themselves are the reasons for the changes noticed in the palæography, we might now turn to the actual changes noticed in the manuscript under consideration.

The script of the manuscript is proto-Nāgari, and a glance at the palæographical chart appended herewith would show that it resembles the present day Nāgari in many respects. In spite of the apparent semblance we find that in it there are many letters which differ from the present day script and for the identification of some of them we have to exert a little to know their correct values.

The first important change that may be noticed in the formation of these is the shortening of the horizontal on the top of a letter where it meets the vertical. This difference we have to attribute to the use of stylus which had to be used without lifting it as far as possible. To the students of palæography it need hardly be emphasised that the horizontal

on the top of every letter in the present day Nāgari is merely a development or an outcome of the thick portion noticed in the earlier characters and caused by the turning of the hard instrument when applied to writing material like the stone or a copper-plate and in certain cases soft material like clay. In point of time it is more a development of the "Nail" in the so-called "Nail-headed" characters.

The second thing to be noted about the formation of the letters is the horizontalization of the curves in many letters, which, as will easily be recognized, is made for the sake of the manuscripts. This mode is particularly noticed in the medial U of the letter as well as in the R on the top. In writing the medial l, the writer resorts to a simple curve which at the same time serves both as the sign for *velāṇṭi* and for the additional vertical in the long or the short *aṣṣara*. This practice is also marked in cases of *DA*, *LA*, and even in *BA* where straight lines have been engraved in places of loops. The writer is really at pains when the distinguishing features of letters having a similar semblance like *DHA* and *THA*, *VA* and *CA* etc., where he had no other means than to treat the loops and the verticals as two different parts and to indicate them separately.

His ease in dealing with straight forms is apparent from the vertical of *KA*, which has one of its loops split into a right angle. His treatment of *HA* exhibits the same tendency to eliminate loops and their replacement by straight lines as far as possible.

A somewhat different mode has been adopted in the case of *PHA*, where we find that only *PA* has been carved with a curious ornamentation at the top to distinguish it from the first letter of the labial.

Coming to more special forms we have to note the instance of *JA*, *THA* and *DHA*, the ornamental *DHA* and *SA*.

The form of *JHA*, which does not materially differ from the characteristics of the same letter obtained in inscriptions of the 14th century A.D., is also to be noted. We might also refer to *NA* with a short ending as a curious specimen of caligraphy. The nasal *N* is always indicated by an *anuswāra* written after the letter, instead of at the top as in the present day Nāgari, apparently for the sake of convenience in engraving the leaf.

In the formation of compounded letters, the writer's difficulty is all the more great when it comes to putting more than three letters together. In the depiction of *YA* in a compound letter (*Jodāṅśara*) he uniformly straightened the loop into a straight line without the elimination of the vertical of the previous letter or letters. The tendency to simplify the clustered consonants is also seen in the letters being engraved in the order in which they are to be pronounced and by denoting their conjunct nature by a continuous curve carved on the tops of each of them. In the chart we have selected some words commonly noticed in the manuscripts and from their treatment it would be apparent that their identification would have been somewhat difficult had not the printed text been made available to us.

It would be needless to go into the details of each and every letter, but we might only draw the attention of the reader to the forms of *RJJA*, *CCHA*, *STHA* and *RKHA*, which have to be studied from the chart itself.

After studying these changes and how they were effected we now turn to the problem about the age of the manuscript and see how far the changes we have noted above would help us to determine the same.

Though we have ample testimony to show that palm-leaf was most commonly used as a medium of writing before paper came to be invented (as is apparent from the earlier paper manuscripts which have still retained a space indicated by a blank in imitation of the holes in palm-leaf manuscripts or by red dots specifying the same, as well as from the historical evidence noted by several writers), it must be admitted that the palæography of palm-leaf manuscripts has not helped us much in determining its exact age. The natural difficulty of writing material does not vanish even after studying these details and the changes as have been noted above. We have already seen that some of the changes in script were made obviously for the sake of palm-leaf on which they are engraved, and would not have perhaps appeared had the manuscript been written on paper.

Moreover, such a study of the characters obtained in palm-leaf manuscripts from the point of their palæography has never been made up to now on a considerable scale. *BUHLER* in his *Indische Palæographie*, Taffel VI, included several specimens of characters from different

kinds of manuscripts obtained in India and abroad. PANDIT GAURISHANKAR OJHA¹ also indicated the same from some of the manuscripts of the 16-17th century A.D. But in their citations the regional factor in the development of the script has not been stressed. From the examples cited there it cannot be ascertained whether the use of the script could have been restricted to any particular locality. This factor cannot be overlooked in view of the fact that even in paper manuscripts belonging to the same period, we notice some difference in script in one and the same locality. Thus we find different scripts² employed in Jaina and non-Jaina manuscripts. The palæographical chart of letters obtained in one manuscript cannot therefore be a desideratum for the age of all other manuscripts in a particular locality and for the same period. Unless a detailed study of some of the most ancient and dated manuscripts is completed, as in the case of lithic and copper-plate documents from which a general and systematic evolution of the script has been traced by the epigraphists, it would not be possible to say with any certainty about the age of a manuscript from its script alone.

Till then the accompanying chart would serve only as an attempt in this direction, though the writer has hopes that it would be taken up seriously in places where such material has fortunately been preserved in greater abundance.

¹ Ojha, *Prācīna Bhāratīya Lipi-Mālā*, *Līpīpatra*, 65.

² Cf. H. R. Kapedia's articles in *ABORI*, 18, 171-86; 19, 386-418.

PALEOGRAPHICAL CHART.

ॐ	अं	अ	इ	उ	य
ॐ	अं	अ	इ	उ	य
क	ख	ग	घ		
क	ख	ग	घ		
च	छ	ज	झ	ञ	ट
च	छ	ज	झ	ञ	ट
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण	
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण	
त	थ	द	ध	न	
त	थ	द	ध	न	
प	फ	ब	भ	म	
प	फ	ब	भ	म	
वि	व	श	ष	स	
वि	व	श	ष	स	
ह	ह	र	ल	व	स
ह	ह	र	ल	व	स
उ	उ	रु	उ	वृ	वृ
उ	उ	रु	उ	वृ	वृ
व	व	ह	ह	क्ष	क्ष
व	व	ह	ह	क्ष	क्ष
		का	का	ल्यां	ल्यां
		का	का	ल्यां	ल्यां

KINSHIP TERMS AND THE FAMILY ORGANIZATION
AS FOUND IN THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE
MAHĀBHĀRATA

By

I. KARVĒ

Introduction

Kinship terms for the following concepts are found in the critically edited part of the Mahābhārata.

Great-grand-father, grand-father, (separate terms for father's father and mother's father), father, son, grandson, (separate terms for son's son and daughter's son), great-grand-son, mother, daughter, grand-daughter (daughter's daughter), mother's brother, father's sister and mother's sister. For relations by marriage there are terms for husband, wife, co-wife, husband's brother, wife's brother, husband's father, wife's father, husband's mother, son's wife, daughter's husband. Besides these there are terms which denote the family or household, the concepts of relationship through father and relationship through marriage.

There are certain terms which may be termed the primary kinship terms like *pitṛ* (father), *mātṛ* (mother) etc. For certain relationships several terms are used, for example *putra*, *suta*, *sūnu*, *dāyāda*, *tanaya* and others for son, or *patnī*, *jāyā*, *dāra* for wife. It is not always possible to find out which of these many terms are literary expressions of the functions of that relationship and which are genuine kinship terms. In such cases, it would be extremely instructive to study Sanskrit texts of different periods and of different content in order to find out how different words are preferred in different contexts. A mere cursory glance will show how certain words very frequent in the Vedic texts (e.g. *sūnu*) are used but rarely in the epic, while certain others like *dāra* for wife are not found at all in the Vedas. The word *sūnu* is an old word and if it is found in the Vedas and but rarely in the epic it is a clue worth following. The two may be divided by time as also by cultural content in order to account for the change in the preferred vocabulary. The Vedas are the esoteric literature of the two higher castes while the epic is a popular record which is recited by

trained minstrels at different festive gatherings to which the common people were admitted as audience. The difference in words may be due to this fact. It is found today that the vocabulary used by different castes is slightly different. The vocabulary of the *mōntra* (priestly) literature may be different, may be conservative and old, may have many echoes—even in later times of the old Indo-European-Iranian vocabulary while the *saula* (from *sūta*, the story-teller) literature as representing a contact with an ever changing audience may represent a more popular vocabulary. A change in the fashion in words may have for its causes either the time factor or culture-content of different Sanskrit texts. It was, therefore, thought necessary, more from the point of view of further studies than for the exigencies of the present paper to prepare an index of kinship terms discussed in this paper and to give a word-count for the different terms.

The Hindu family or the Vedic family has been studied by many scholars both Indian and European. DELBRUCK and SCHRADER have even studied the kinship terms used but the point of view of this paper is different from that of these former studies. Firstly this paper deals with one text only and studies the kinship terms and usages as depicted in one narrative only. The necessity of a critically edited text is justified by the fact that within the so-edited text the terminology follows a perfectly logical pattern without exception while all the words which would have vitiated this pattern are found in texts which are rejected solely on the ground of manuscript evidence. (Thus the word *pitṛya* not discussed in this paper as not occurring in the critical text is found in the Kumbhakonam edition). This also leads us to the second point that Indian social institutions must not be studied in an eclectic way by gathering the evidence of the *Dharmāśāstras* but must be studied by compiling case histories of different kinship usages recorded in Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jaina literatures. These would reveal to us, as does this story of the epic, that the Indian social institutions have evolved in a world of constant and stimulating culture-contact where people of different cultures marry with each other, fight with each other and have to live as neighbours carrying on a struggle which may end in cultural assimilation or extermination. In the *Mahābhārata* story this cultural process is unrolled before our eyes in a vivid and gripping narration and the attention of a student of social process must be *primarily* fixed on these narratives and not on such abstract one-sided treatises as the *Dharmaśāstras*. The first part of the paper describes the kinship terms, the second, the kinship usages and the family organisation. References to other Sanskrit texts is avoided as it is necessary to complete some more

studies of this nature before comparative study of the diverse material can be undertaken.

PART I

GREAT-GRANDFATHER

The word *prapitāmaha* is used for the (a) great-grandfather (father's father's father), (b) his brother, (c) mother's grandfather (?), (d) ancestors in general and for (e) the creator as the ancestor of all the living beings.

Pavīkṣid itī vikhyāto rājā kauravavarāṇabhr̥t || 1.32.16.

yathā Pāṇḍuḥ.... babhūva mṛgayāśīlaḥ purasya prapitāmahaḥ || 1.32.17, see also 1.37.25

The famous king and noble scion of the Kuru Race by name Parīkṣit was fond of hunting as his great-grandfather Pāṇḍu before him.

bhagavan Kūṅyakiḥ Pārtha gate ne prapitāmaha |

pāṇḍavāḥ kimakurvanta.... || 3.79.1

(b) In the following context the word seems to have been used for the great-great-grandfather, or in a classificatory manner for the brother of the great-grandfather. Janamejaya is said to have ruled in the same manner as his *prapitāmaha* (great grandfather) before. Janamejaya's great-grand-father was Arjuna who was never a king. The word therefore may stand for Dharmarāja, the eldest brother of Arjuna. It may also have been used for the father of the great-grandfather, i.e. Pāṇḍu.

(Janamejayaḥ) śatśāsa rājyaṁ kurupumga vāgrajaḥ | 1.40.7

yathāśya vīraḥ prapitāmahaḥ tathā ||

'(Janamejaya) the foremost among Kuru heroes then ruled over his kingdom like his brave great-grandfather (Dharma Rāja or more likely Pāṇḍu) before him.'

(c) In the following the word may mean, either father's father's father or mother's father's father. Śeṣa, the great serpent, addresses Brahman as *prapitāmaha*, who is the father of Marīci, the father of Kaśyapa who is the father of Śeṣa. Śeṣa's mother Kadrū is the daughter of Prajāpati the son of Brahman and so Brahman becomes Śeṣa's mother's grandfather.

Śeṣa uvāca—eṣa eva vīro me'dya kākṣitaḥ prapitāmaha || 1.32.17.

trained minstrels at different festive gatherings to which the common people were admitted as audience. The difference in words may be due to this fact. It is found today that the vocabulary used by different castes is slightly different. The vocabulary of the *māntra* (priestly) literature may be different, may be conservative and old, may have many echoes—even in later times of the old Indo-European-Iranian vocabulary while the *santa* (from *sūta*, the story-teller) literature as representing a contact with an ever changing audience may represent a more popular vocabulary. A change in the fashion in words may have for its causes either the time factor or culture-content of different Sanskrit texts. It was, therefore, thought necessary, more from the point of view of further studies than for the exigencies of the present paper to prepare an index of kinship terms discussed in this paper and to give a word-count for the different terms.

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Parīkṣit itī vikhyāto rājā kauravavainśabhyt || 1.32.16.

yathā Pāṇḍuh.... babhūva mṛgayāsīlah purāṇa prapitāmaha || 1.32.17, see also 1.37.25

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'(Janamejaya) the foremost among Kuru heroes then ruled over his kingdom like his brave great-grandfather (Dharma Rāja or more likely Pāṇḍu) before him.'

(c) In the following the word may mean, either father's father's father or mother's father's father. Śeṣa, the great serpent, addresses Brahman as *prapitāmaha*, who is the father of Marīci, the father of Kaśyapa who is the father of Śeṣa. Śeṣa's mother Kadrū is the daughter of Prajāpati the son of Brahman and so Brahman becomes Śeṣa's mother's grandfather.

Śeṣa uvāca—eṣa eva vāro me'dya kūṅkṣitaḥ prapitāmaha || 1.32.17.

Śeṣa said, "Oh great-grand father, I desire only this boon".

(d) It is also used for any distant ancestor or for ancestors in general.

tathā (Janamejaya) saṃpūjeyitvā tān (Vyāsaṃ)

yatnena *prapitāmahaṃ* ||

1.54.15.

'(Janamejaya) did homage to his ancestor (Vyāsa). Vyāsa is the grand father of the great-grand father of Janamejaya. (Vyāsa-Pāṇdu-Arjuna-Abhimanyu-Parīkṣit-Janamejaya).'

teṣāṃ apīdam *prapitā* mahāntarā rājyaṃ pituḥpitāmānām || 1.194.5.

'This kingdom belonged to their ancestors as also to their father, they who are the best of Kurus.'

Here Bhīṣma wants to stress that the kingdom is the ancestral property of the Pāṇḍavas.

(e) In the following the word is applied to the creator.

apṛthasya vṛqṣivarmṇasya bhartṛ goptā ca Mādhavaḥ

trayaṇām api lokīnām bhāṣavān *prapitāmahaḥ* ||

5.84.3

'Mādhava is the sustainer and the protector of the prosperous Vṛṣṇi clan, he the Lord, the Creator (ancestor) also sustains and protects the three worlds.'

Brahman the creator is called *prapitāmaha* also. (cf. below under *pitāmaha*).

(f) The descriptive phrase father's grandfather—*pituḥ pitāmaha*—is also used in place of *prapitāmaha*.

tathaiva saivadharmajñāḥ *pitūrmama pitāmahaḥ* |

Pratīpaḥ prthivīpālāḥ.... ||

5.147.4

Dhṛtarāṣṭra says to his son—"So also the king Pratīpa, learned in religious lore, the grandfather of my father (was famous etc.).

GRAND FATHER

The word *pitāmaha* is used for (a) the father's father, (b) the brother of the father's father, (c) mother's father (?), (d) for ancestors in general, and (e) for Brahman the Creator.

In the following examples Vyāsa and the king Vicitravīrya are both referred to as the father's father of the Pāṇḍavas. As is well known Vyāsa was the begetter of their father, while Vicitravīrya was the legal father (the mother's husband) of their father.

evam uktvā mahābhīṣaḥ Pāṇḍavānām *pitāmahaḥ* |

Pṛthivī āmanīya Kuntīm ca prātiḥhata mahatpāṇi || 1.157.16.

'The noble grandfather of the Pāṇḍavas, having said so and taken leave of the Pārihas and of Kuntī, started.'

rājānā tu P.ṇ.oidanapradhīṣyaṁ | tasyādyā putrāḥ prabhavanti nānye |

rājānā tad etan nikhilān P.ṇḍavānām | *pitāmahaṁ* putreputrānug mi || 5.146.32.

'This kingdom was Pāṇḍu's without a rival. His sons alone shall rule now and none others. This whole kingdom belongs to the Pāṇḍavas. It has descended to them from the grandfather, and is to be inherited by the sons and the grandsons.' (*pitāmaha* may mean ancestral also but in this verse it seems as if special reference is made to the fact that the two ascendant generations—the father and the grandfather—of the Pāṇḍavas were kings and they therefore had a right to the kingdom).

(b) Bhīṣma the half-brother of Vicitravīrya, the grandfather of the Pāṇḍavas and Dhṛtarāṣṭra is also called the grandfather. As grandfather (uncle?) of those princes and as the oldest male member of the family he is referred to as grandfather by almost all the younger people [Dhṛṣṭadyumna (3.13.118) Karṇa (5.61.12,13), and Kṛṣṇa (5.71.11) belonging to the generation of the Pāṇḍavas.]

Bhīṣmaḥ *pitāmaha* rājā Viduro janani ca me |

aurijjanas ca prāyo me nagare nṛṣṭihvaye || 3.1.33

(Dharmarāja says), "Grandfather Bhīṣma, the king, Vidura, my mother and most of my friends are in the city of Hāstinapura."

bhāvān Kṣattā ca rājā ca tasyo vā *pitāmahaḥ* |

mān eva paigrahante nānyaṁ kāmāna pṛthivān || 5.125.4

"You, Kṣattā, the king, the preceptor, even the grandfather put the blame on me and on no other king," said Duryodhana.

(c) In the following the word is used for mother's father.

akāṅkṣante ca dauhitṛn api nityaṁ *pitāmahaḥ* |

tān svayaṁ vai paritrāṣye rakṣanti jīvitān pitub || 1.147.6

The *pitāmahas* (father's fathers) always wish for grandchildren (born of their daughters. lit. daughter's children). In protecting the life of the father I am also saving the life of the grandchildren (who will be born of daughters to be born.)

This use is unique as another word exists for mother's father.

(d) In plural it is used for ancestors generally. Sometimes it is qualified by the word *pūrova*.

kim akurvanta lauravyā mano pūrovaṇpitāmāhān | 3.12

Janamejaya asks, "What did my ancient ancestors of the Kuru family do?"

pitāmāhānue varado Kapilena mahānadi

nitā vaivasvataścajam || 3.107.16

"O Great River, giver of boons, my ancestors were led to the abode of death by Kapila." (King Bhagīratha refers to the half-brothers of his great-grandfather).

atamānah kadicit sa svān dadāsa pitāmāhān |

lambanāntā mahānto p'dai rūdrhvan adhomukhān || 1.13.11

(The sage Jaratkārū) once, while wandering, saw his ancestors hanging upside down in a huge pit.

(e) It is used to denote the creator Brahman or his son Prajāpati as the begetter of all living beings. Brahman is referred to mostly as *pitāmaha* (the grandfather); actually according to the genealogy he is the great grandfather of the gods (Brahman—Aditi—gods or Brahman Marīci—Kā'yapa—gods) while Prajāpati, through whose daughters the world is generated is far removed from Manu, the father of mankind.

tato dadrsu āśham saha devaḥ Pitāmaham | 1.203

'They saw there Brahman (lit. the grandfather) seated with other gods.'

tebhyaḥ prōcetaśca jāne Dakṣo Dakṣād imāḥ prajān |

śambhitāḥ puruṣavyāghra sa hi loṇapitāmah || 1.70.4

From them was born Pīcetasā Dakṣa, from Dakṣa, the living beings were born, O tiger among men, he therefore is the grandfather (ancestor) of all the peoples.'

Brahman is also called the ancestor of all beings, *sarva-loka-pitāmaha*.

taṁ dadān svayam Brahman sarvalokapitāmahaḥ | 1.6.5.

‘Brahmā himself, the ancestor of all beings, saw her.’

In the following verse Brahmanā is called the *pitāmaha*, though he is the father of Bhṛgu, the husband of Pulomā. As such he should have been addressed as father or pitā, as the word used for Pulomā is *vadhū* i.e. daughter-in-law. *Pitāmaha*, thus, is used of Brahman in whatever context the word occurs.

śatvayāmśa bhagovān vadhūm brahmā pitāmahaḥ | 1.6.5

‘God Brahman, the grandfather soothed the young bride (daughter-in-law).’ The descent is as follows: Brahman—Bhṛgu × Pulomā, therefore, Pulomā, the *vadhū*, is Brahman’s daughter-in-law.

* * * * *

The word *mātāmaha* is used for mother’s father. The terms *mātus pitā*, *mātur janaka* and *mātus śarīra-kartā* are also used (5. 174. 17, 20, 24; 5. 175. 28).

Yayāti asmi Nahuṣasya putrah....mātāmaho’ham bhavatām prakṣab | 1.88.21

‘I am Yayāti, the son of Nahuṣa, and reveal myself as your mother’s father.’

The word *pūrva* is used in plural to denote distant ancestors. The word *paurvikī* is used once to denote a distant ancestress.

na hi tṛpyāmi pūrvayān śṛṇvānś caritān mahat | 1.56.3

I am never tired of hearing the great deeds of my ancestors.

evam jān mahābh-gī Tapatī nama Paurvikī |

tava Vivasvatī Pārtha tṛpatyas tvain yayā mataḥ || 1.163.22

‘In this way was Tapatī, the daughter of Vivasvān, your great ancestress. From her are you called Tāpatya.’

The descriptive phrase *pitus pitā* (father’s father), is also found in a number of verses.

Baliḥ papraccha daityendranī Pālhaḥdam pitarām pituḥ | 3.29.2

'Bali asked his father's father. Pralhāda, the king of Daityas.'

FATHER AND MANES (THE DEPARTED ANCESTORS).

The words *pitr*, *tāta*, *janitr*, *janayitr*, and *janaka* are used. Each word has its own peculiarities as described below.

The word *pitr* is used for (a) father, (b) father's brother ; in the dual it means (c) parents and in the plural it is most often used to denote (d) the departed ancestors.

(a) In the following the word is used for the begetter, as also for the legal father, i.e. the husband of the mother.

śha m'm amara'reṣ'haḥ *pitrā* tava Śatakrātuḥ |
Kunt'utam iha m'ptam pa'yantu tridaślay'ḥ || 3.43.12

The greatest among gods, your father, Śatakrātu (Indra), said to me "Let the dwellers of heaven see the son of Kurti, who has arrived here." (Indra is the begetter of Arjuna, while his legal father is Pāṇḍu).

śśvad dharm'tmanā jiteḥ bile ova ; ita mama |
jivit'ntam amnupr'apṛtaḥ k'm'tnauveti naḥ śtutam || 1.110.3

'My father even as a child had his mind bent on duty, but he came to his end with his soul wrapped up in desire.' (Pāṇḍu refers here to king Vicitravīrya after whose death he was born to queen Ambālikā from the sage Vyāsa.)

(b) The word *pitr* is also used for father's brother and is sometimes qualified in order to indicate whether the younger brother of the father was meant. It is thus used in a classificatory way.

batam eva hi paśy'mi gāṅgeyaṁ *pitarāṁ* raṇe | 5.162.2.

I see my father, the son of Gaṅgā, as good as already dead on the battlefield. (Dhṛtarāṣṭra refers here to Bhīṣma, the half-brother of his father).

vy'jah're tato vīkyaṁ Viduraḥ astyaśṅgareḥ |
pitar vadanam anv'keśya parivṛtya ca dharmavit || 5.146.17.

Vidura, the truthful, learned in Dharma, looked at his father, and said these words.' (by "father" is meant here Bhīṣma who was the uncle of

Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the half (?) brother of Vidura : about Vidura's relationship cf. further p.)

sarvathā tvakṣamam caitad rocate ca manūnagha |
yattvam pitarī Bhīṣme ca prapīṭam saṁśaceḥ || 5.71.24

'It is just like you, and O, sinless one, I like it too that you pay your respects to the father (uncle Dhṛtarāṣṭra) and Bhīṣma.'

pitā yavīyān namakam Kṣattā dharmabhṛtām varāḥ | 5.145.13.

Says Dharmarāja—'Our junior father, the Kṣattā, best among those who practice dharma.'

dadarā pitarāḥ vṛkḍalanī prajñācakṣuṣaḥ uvācam | 2.52.28.

He saw his father, the old blind king.

pitaram samupātiḥ (had Dhṛtarāṣṭram kṛtūjālib | 2.64.17

'(Dharmarāja) waited on his father Dhṛtarāṣṭra, with folded hands.'

upasthitam vṛddham andhanā pitarām paśya bhṛnta | 2.65.11.

"Oh Ehārata (Dharma) see me your old blind father" (said by Dhṛtarāṣṭra to Yudhiṣṭhira).

kṛtyakle upasthīye pitarā itī Ghaṭotkacāḥ |
āmantrya rākṣasāreḥ haḥ pratathe cottarāṁ dīśam, || 1.143.37.

"I shall wait on the fathers (father and uncles together) in the time of need'. So saying and taking their leave Ghaṭotkaca went north."

dayito Vāsudevasya bṛhāt prabhṛti cābhavat. |
pitṛāṁ caiva sarveṣāṁ prajñāṁ iva candramāb || 1.13.63

'He (Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna and Subhadrā) from his childhood was beloved of Vāsudeva and also of all his fathers (uncles and father) as moon is of people.'

yan mubravīt Dhṛtarāṣṭro niśyāt |
Ajātaśatro vacanam pitā te 5.24.10 ||

'(Know) O Ajātaśatra what Dhṛtarāṣṭra your father (uncle) said to me in the evening.'

(c) tasya vyādhasya pitarau brāhmanāḥ suvidadarāḥ ha | 3.204.8.

'The Br̥hmaṇa saw the parents of the hunter.'

(d) In the plural though it may mean fathers, it is most often used to denote the departed ancestors. The god Yama, the god of the under-world is called the king of the *pitr̥s* (*pitr̥djaḥ* 3.281.14).

hanyuṇi pitarāḥ putrān putrāśc'pi tāhī p.ṭṭā |

Fathers might kill the sons and sons the fathers.

sa tēsu rudhir m̥bhāsu hr̥adeṣu krodham'rechitāḥ |

pūṭṇa sātīr̥apay m̥ sa rudhir̥apeti nah īrutam || 1.2.5.

'Overwhelmed with anger, he offered oblations of blood to the manes (his dead ancestors), at the tanks filled with blood.'

The word *tāta*¹ is used most often in the vocative singular case, and has become merely a mode of address to a man or men junior than the speaker. It is also used for seniors but rarely. (a) In this sense it has no kinship connotation. It is, however, sometimes used also in the sense of father where it may occur, (b) in the vocative, or (c) in any other case. (d) it is also used in a classificatory sense for the brother of the father and is qualified by the adjective *kaṇḡasā*.

(a) bhrguvam̥śt̥ pr̥bhīty eva tvaṣ me kathitāṁ mahat |

ākhy nam̥ akhilāṁ tāta saute pr̥to'smi tena te || 1.53.27

(Śaunaka says to the story-teller), "You have narrated a great story starting from the genealogy of the Ehgus. Dear Sūta, I am pleased with you."

(b) te tāta yadi monyadhvam̥ utsavam̥ v'raṇvate |

.....viheradhvam̥ yath marāḥ 1.85.21. ||

"If you care, live in happiness and festivity at Vēraṇāvata, like gods." Dhītarāṣṭrā says this to Yudhiṣṭhira, using the word *tāta* collectively for all the brothers.

catv'ri te tūta gr̥he vasantu | śrīy'bhijus'asya gīhasthadharme ||

vṛddho jñātīr̥ avasannāḥ kulīnāḥ | sakṡa deridra bhaginī c'napatyā || 5.33.59.

¹ *Tāta* is given as a lallwort by WALDE-POKORNY, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der, i.-g. Sprachen*, I, 704. It means "father" in many Indo-Germanic languages. A modified form *Teiā* means aunt in the Irish. As it is only a lallwort, its original root-meaning cannot be fixed as "father". It may have also from the very beginning two uses : (1) a definite connotation and (2) a mode of intimate address amongst members of the family-circle.

Vidura says to Dhṛtarāṣṭra his elder brother " *tāta*, let these four find shelter in your house, you who carry the duty of the householder, being blessed by riches. The four persons being an aged kinsmen, clansman, come to bad days, a poor friend and the childless sister.

(b and c) mī tāta tāta tūkti na te tātō mahamujih | 1.169.7

"Do not call out *tāta*, *tāta tāta* because, this great sage is not your father." (*tāta*).

(d) bhoṣ tāta kenyaṣa vade dvayar nṛṣya nra sambhavaḥ. | 1.98.13

"O Junior father, I tell you two cannot be together here."

(Address by Dīrghatamas to Brhaspati, the younger brother of his father).

The words *janitr*, *janayitr* and *janaḥ* occur only once or twice.

bhṛty'yaṁ janitāṁ putrāṁ tadar'c svam iv'nanam |

hladata janitā prekṣya... || 1.68.43.

'The father rejoices at seeing a son like his own image in a mirror, born of his wife.'

leṣ m janayitā n'nyas tvadite bhuvi didyate | 1.92.51

Nobody except you in this world is their begetter (father). The word here has the meaning of begetter, rather than of the kinship connotation "father".

dhanyas te putra janaḥ devo bhṛnu vibhāvasuḥ | 3.292.16

Son, blessed is your father, the god Sun.

aḥam te janaḥ tva dharma mṛdupur.kramah | 3.298.6.

"Child of gentle ways I am your father Dharma."

MOTHER.

The words *mātr*, *ambā*, *jananī*, *janitṛ* and *chātṛ* are found. The words *mātr* and *ambā* are used for own mother, as also for the step-mother. The word *mātr* is the most frequent of all these words. It is used in a classificatory sense in three instances, once for father's brother's wife, once for mother's sister and once for all women in the family of about the same age as the own mother.

Haidimbeya parīśrūtā tava mātṛā 'parījitā | 3.145.4

'O son of Hidimbā, your mother (Draupadī) is tired.'

aśrauṣaṃ ahaṃ śruetho garbha'āyā'gatas tadā |

ārurāṇ mātṛvargaśya bhṛgūpātrīṃ kṣatriyaṃ vadhe || 1.171.5

'At that time, placed in the thigh and still in the embryonal stage, I heard the lament of my mothers, while the Bhṛgus were being killed by the Kṣatriyas'. (Mothers here means the mother and her brothers-in-law's wives and cousins-in-law's wives).

sarvā mātṛs tathā pratyā kṛtvā caiva pradakṣiṇā....

prayayur vāraṇāvatam 1.133.4

'After taking leave of all mothers (here aunts) making pradakṣiṇā to them they went to Vāraṇāvatā.' (As Kuntī accompanied the Pāṇḍavas to Vāraṇāvatā, here "all mothers" means wives of father's brothers and cousins.)

mātaraṃ caiva Gāndhārī mām ca tvadgṛhāṅśṛṇvayā

upasthitaṃ vṛddhaṃ andhaṃ pīṭaraṃ pa ya bhṛtā 2.65.11

'O Bhārata prince see, I your old blind uncle (father) and your aunt (lit. mother) Gāndhārī have come to experience your virtues.'

ciraviprositaṃ mātā mām anujñatam arhasi 3.66.17

Mother (aunt), please permit me to go as I have been away from home for a very long time. (Damayantī says this to her mother's sister).

Ambā occurs but rarely, twice in the vocative case and once in the nominative.

evāṃ caiva vadaty ambā..... | 1.187.22.

'The mother also says so'.

nāmba Śantanuṃ j'atā kauravaṃ vāṃ amudvahan |

pratiñ m vitathāṃ kuryaṃ..... || 5.145.32.

'O mother, I who am born of Śantanu, bearing the name of the Kauravas shall not falsify my solemn pledge'.

ahaṃ preyaś ca dāś ca tavāmba sutavatsale 5.145.33

'I am your servant and slave, O mother, fond of sons.'

The word *dhātṛī* is used for the nurse, or an elderly woman attendant who functions as chaperon but in one place it is used definitely for mother.

anujñātā yoyau sū tu kanyā Śālvapateḥ puram
vṛddhair dvijūtibhir gupta *dhātṛqā* c.nugatā tadā. 5.172.2.

'Being permitted to do so, that maiden went to the city of Śālva. She was protected by elderly Brahmins and accompanied by an elderly lady as chaperon.'

teṣāṃ jananyā nṛṇyaś tvadṛte bhuvi vidyate
madvidhā mānuṣī *dhātṛī* na caivāst'ha kadācana 1.192.5

'Their begetter (father) is nobody but you on this earth. And no mortal mother exists which can be compared with me.'

The words *janunī* is not very rare and occurs in every parvan. The word *janitrī* is rare.

tatropaviṣṭācir iv'nalasya teṣāṃ *janitrī* mama praterkaḥ 1.185.7

'Seated there, like the flame of the fire, was I think their mother.'

gurūpāṇ caiva sarveṣāṃ *janitrī* paramo gurtḥ 1.186.16

Of all the elders deserving obedience, mother comes first.

FATHER'S BROTHER.

No special word for this relation is found in the critical edition, which is to be expected as everywhere the words for father, namely *pitr* and *tāta* are used for father's brother. The word *pitrōya* occurs in the Kumbhakoṇam edition and the verse in which it occurs does not form part of the constituted text on the strength of documentary evidence only; now its omission is justified on the strength of the kinship terminology and usages as found in the Mahābhārata.

MOTHER'S BROTHER.

The word *mātula* is everywhere used. The more homely word *māma* used in folktales like *Pāñcatantra* is not found.

FATHER'S SISTER.

Father's sister is *pitrśvasī* or *pituś svasā*. Kuntī is often times addressed and mentioned as *pitrśvasā* by Kṛṣṇa.

kā nu śīmāntinī tvadṛg lokeṣv asti *pitrśvasaḥ* 5.88.90.

"O, aunt (sister of my father) where is a woman like you in the universe?"

tato'paśyat svasārāṇi pr'tim'n pituh 2.12.29

He visited with joy the sister of his father.

MOTHER'S SISTER.

The same words as for mother is used once (cf. above). There is also the descriptive term *mātr̥spasā* or *mātur bhaginī*.

bhḍham ity eva t'm uktvā hr̥ṣṭā mātr̥spasā nṛpa...prasth'payāmsa 3.66.20.

The rejoicing aunt (mother's sister) said, "so be it," and sent her home.

praṇamya mātur bhaginīm idam vacanam abravaṭ 3.66.15

'Bowing down to the aunt (mother's sister), she said these words'.

BROTHER.

The same word *bhrātṛ* is used for brother, father's brother's son, sometimes for father's sister's son, mother's brother's son and also once for great-grandfather's brother's grandson. Thus the word *bhrātṛ* is used in a classificatory sense for various relatives. The other words in use are *sodarya* and *sahodara*. These two words (born of the same mother) are used sometimes as an adjective of the word *bhrātṛ* to distinguish own brothers from step-brothers. They are used collectively of all Pāṇḍava brothers though they are not born of the same mother; the three elder brothers being step-brothers of the two youngest.

nitya-nuśaktavairā hi bhrātārāḥ(?) bhr'tero devad'navāḥ 5.98.18.

'The brothers, (step-brothers) Devas and Dānavas, are always hating each other.'

bhrātārāḥ p'rvaḥ'ṭs ca susamṛddhāḥ ca sarva'āḥ

nikṛtyā nirjitā devair asurāḥ p'ṛṣṭavarāḥ 3.34.58.

'O Pāṇḍava-brave, the gods conquered by cunning the Asuras who were the brothers (step-brothers), born before them and possessed of wealth.'

yathaiiva pitṛto Bhṛṣmas tathā ivamapi m'tṛtāḥ

bhrātā Vicitraviryasya... 1.99.30.

'Satyawatī says to Vyās, the son born to her as a maiden, "Just as Bhīṣma is the brother of Vicitravīrya from the father's side, so you are his brother from the mother's side "'

*bhīṣṇaḥ saha Kaunteya nibodhicchena vaco mama
punar vo vighno mī bhīṣṇaḥ kṣātravaprashtaḥ 1.99.24.*

'Son of Kuntī listen to my words. May you not again quarrel with your brothers (cousins). Live in Khāṇḍavaprastha.'

Arjuna uvāca—utsrjwatī Citrasena bhāṭās mātṛkāṁ Suyodhanah 3.

Arjuna said "O Citrasena, please set at liberty our brother (father's brother's son) Suyodhana".

bhrātṛbhūṣṇa te' stu saubhāgīnam.... 2.65.15

'May you keep brotherly relations with your brothers.'

(Said by Dhṛtarāṣṭra to Dharma. The brothers referred to here are the cousins the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra).

*anāthamaḥ kuruso Saumadattiḥ sa no bhāṭā
Saṁjaya mataśchī ca 5.30.21*

'The best among the Kurus is Saumadatti, O, Saṁjaya: he is our brother and my friend.' (Dharmarāja refers to Saumadatti as a brother of the Pāṇḍavas. Saumadatti is the son's son of Bālīka the brother of Śantanu. He thus belongs to the generation of Pāṇḍu and ought to have been classed with Dharma's father. In age Dharma and Saumadatti may have been about the same. This usage of the word *bhrātṛ* is curious.)

Kṛṣṇa who is the son of the mother's brother is also called brother of the Pāṇḍavas.

sa te bhāṭā sakhā caiva katha madya Dhanamjayaḥ 5.88.33

Kuntī asks Kṛṣṇa—"How far is Dhanamjaya, who is your brother and friend?"

bhāṭā c'ei sakhī c'ei Bibhateor mama ca priyaḥ 5.70.91

Dharma says to Kṛṣṇa—"You are the brother and friend of Bibhatsu and of me."

katham samabhaveddyutam bhrātṛṇāṁ tanumatīyam 2.46.1.

How did the game of chance played among brothers proceed?

Dhṛtarāṣṭra uvāca... tulyaḥ bhījanavīryaś ca kathāni *lhuṭuḥ* śīyam upa putra kāmāyase
mohat 250.3.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra said " my princely son, how can you covet the wealth of your brother (Dharmarāja), you who are equal to him in birth and valour?

evamuktās tataḥ sorve *bhrataro* vipulavijasaḥ

Vārṣṇeyah pāṇḍaveyaṁ ca prasthūr mīgedham puram 21821.

Addressed thus, the brave brothers—the two Pāṇḍavas and the one Vārṣṇeya started for the city of Magadha. (The Pāṇḍavas are Arjuna and Bhīma and the Vārṣṇeya is Kṛṣṇa, and they are mentioned here together as brothers.)

In the Aranyaka Parvan Saubhupati Śālva calls Śiśupāla, the king of Cedi his brother. No direct relationship exists between these two. Śiśupāla is the son of the sister of Kṛṣṇa's father and is related to Kṛṣṇa in the same way as the Pāṇḍavas are related to him. In fact Śālva in one verse calls Śiśupāla a brother of Kṛṣṇa and in the next calls him his own brother. From some stanzas in the Sabhā Parvan it appears that Śālva was a subclan of the bigger and numerous clan of Bhojas who had fled from the North to the West for fear of Jarāsandha. The Bhojas, the Andhakas and the Vṛṣṇis are again subclans who trace agnatic relation with one another being divisions of the great Yadu clan. There one who is a brother of one member of any of these clans is also a brother of any member of the other two clans. Thus Śālva may have called Śiśupāla his brother.

ud'cyabhojāś ca tathā kulānya *apṛdaś* bhibho

Jarāsandhabhaya'd eva prati'c'm diśam *āritāḥ* 2.13.18.

Śūrasenāḥ Bhadrakārāḥ Bodhāḥ Śālvaḥ Pañccarāḥ

Sustharāś ca Sukutṭāś ca Kuṇḍināḥ Kuntibhojāḥ saha 2.13.19

The eighteen families of the northern Bhojas have taken shelter in the West for fear of Jarāsandha. They are Śūrasena, Bhadrakāra, Bodha, Śālva, Pañccara, Susthara, Sukutṭa, Kuṇḍina and Kuntī. 2.13.19

Nine families are here mentioned of these Śūrasena and Kuntī are known to belong to Bhoja-Vṛṣṇi-Andhaka complex. Kuntī is Śūrasena-sutā Vasudeva the father of Kṛṣṇa is called Sauri and the king Kuntibhoja is

the adoptive father of Kuntī the mother of Pāṇḍavas. As the first and the last belong to the Bhojas the presumption is that the other clans mentioned are also those of Bhojas.

bhūā hīaś ca r-jī ca na ca saṁgr-namāydhani |
namatni ca hato vīas tañ haniye Janārdanam || 3.15.21.

"I shall kill Janārdana who has killed not in battle, the brave king (Sisupāla) who was intoxicated, who was but a boy and who was a brother". (Here the word brother may refer to the relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Sisupāla but in the next verse the relationship of brother is with Sālva, the speaker).

mane p'pavabhāvena bhūā yena nip-titah |
Sisup-lah ...ta' vadhiye || 3.15.13.

"I shall kill the evil one who has killed my brother Sisupāla".

paitiṣvaseya sa tānmananapatya vīyavān...pradadau Kuntibhoja-ya || 1.104.2,3.

The warrior (Vasudeva) gave her to the childless Kuntibhoja, the son of his father's sister.

sodarā manā saivehi bhūāraḥ mandacetasaḥ |
saha tair notasake vastum tadbhavān anumanyetam || 1.32.8

"All my uterine brothers are fools. I do not wish to live with them. Please permit me to follow my wish. (The word *sodarya* is here used as an adjective.)"

kekayaś ca naravyāghraḥ sodarāḥ pañca pāthivāḥ || 5.19.25.

"The five brave kings, the Kekaya brothers. (Sodarya used as a noun.)"

bhavān agre rathodineḥ saha sarvaiḥ sahodaraiḥ bhūāṣṭhiḥ || 5.162.19.

"First of all are you, with your uterine brothers, proficient in chariot-fighting. (*Sahodara* is used as an adjective)."

ajāta'atruḥ apy adya Bhīm'rjunavaśānugah |
nikṛtaś ca mayā p-rya n saha sarvaiḥ sahodaraiḥ || 5.150.11

Even Ajāta'atru follows the will of Bhīma and Arjuna. And formerly I have wronged him and his brothers (*sahodara* is used here as a noun).

In one place the word *bandhu* seems to be used in the sense of "brother".

upapanno gupāṭh śreṣ ho jyeṣṭhāh śreṣṭhaṣu *bandhu*su |
 ūtaputreti mātābda Pṛthastvamasī vityav.n || 5.143.12.

MOTHER'S SISTER'S SON.

The word does not occur in the Mbh.

FATHER'S BROTHER'S SON.

It is the same as for brother and he is always addressed and referred to as *bhrātṛ*.

MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON.

He is referred to also as *bhrātṛ*, as was Kṛṣṇa by the Pāṇḍavas.

SISTER.

The words *svasṛ* and *bhaginī* are used. The word *sodaryā* is used as an adjective only and never as a substantive as in the case of the words *sodara* and *sahodara*.

sodaryām p: jayamāsa *sodaryām* pannagotīamah | 1.44.15.

"The best among snakes paid homage to his uterine sister."

FATHER'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER.

FATHER'S SISTER'S DAUGHTER.

MOTHER'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER.

MOTHER'S SISTER'S DAUGHTER.

No word occurs for these relatives in the critically edited text so far except for mother's sister's daughter who is called *mātṛsvaseyā*.

mama mātṛsvaseyā tvam mātā D. kṛ. yaṇī mama | 3.213.20.

"You are the daughter of my mother's sister because my mother is also a daughter of Dakṣa."

Many words are used for descendants in general without any reference either to the generation or to the sex of the descendant. These are *santāna*, *prajā*, *prasava*, *santati*, *prasūti* and *apatya*.

The words *santati* and *santāna* are often times used not in the sense of "a child" primarily but in the sense "unbroken continuity" of a clan. As this continuity is secured through a child, which in turn begets offsprings, so it has come to mean offspring.

tayoutp'day'pityam sa' tūnāpī kulasya nah | 1.97.10.

"Beget offspring from the two for the continuity of our race.

santānasyāvināśo a k maye bhadrām astu to |

anapityutakaputratvam ity eha dharmav dīnah || 1.94.59

"I wish for the preservation of the continuity (of our race). May you prosper. Wise people say that having but one child is equivalent to being childless."

Sāntasya jāyō santānam tasmā'd āvī sa Sāntanuḥ | 1.92.18.

"A child was born to the peaceful king therefore was he Sāntanu."

manīmatyabā pūhivīpātīb pūā bhavet pūā putrāśān mamamāśān |

kulasya sāmānākatāt ca yad bhavet... || 3.281.37.

My father, the king is childless. May he have a hundred sons of his own—sons which will help keep the continuity of the line."

yad āgunavataḥ purīṣas tadapityaṁ praj yate |

tat tīyati sāmītyā pūvadīetān pitāmān n || 1.68.37.

'That offspring which is born to a man, knowing traditional lore, that saves the ancestors who have died before its birth, by keeping the continuity of the line.'

tvayi mātā vinasītyān na nah eyāt kulasamītatib | 1.221.12.

'O mother, when you perish, there will be no continuity of our clan.'

tapo v'py athavā yajō yac c'nyat p'vanam mabat |

tat sarvam na snamā t ta samītyeti sat n māsam || 1.41.28.

'According to wise men penance, sacrifice and whatever else is deemed as sacred is nothing compared to offspring.'

tad d'ragrahaṇe yannam samītyān ca manāḥ kuru || 1.13.22.

'There try to get a wife and think of getting progeny. *Prajā*, *prasava* and *prasūti* mean that which is born and stand for offspring or descendants in general. *Prajā* also means all the living beings together.

ta ime prasavyirthe teva lokā sam vṛtāḥ |

prajāyasya tato lokān upabhoktāḥ śīvatān || 1.220.13.

"These worlds (heavens) are forbidden to you because of children (for lack of children). Beget children and then you can enjoy eternal heavens."

tvaṁ prauṭhī priyā prīptā na māḥ tasyaty aḥ-vitam || 1.146.32.

"I have got (given birth to) these dear offspring of yours. Now loss of life will not grieve me."

*Mariceḥ Ka'yapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyap't tu imiḥ prajāḥ |
prajāñire mah.bh gā Dakṣakanyāa trayoda a || 1.146.32.*

"Kaśyapa was the son of Marīci. From him the thirteen noble daughters of Dakṣa gave birth to all the living beings."

Apatya stands for a child. The words *anapatya* (childless), *anapatyatā* occur often to describe the most undesired thing on this earth—the condition of being childless.

*sā tvaṁ m'drīṇ plaveneva t'rayamām anindite |
apatyasamvibhāgena parām kīrtim avāpuhi || 1.115.14.*

'Save Mēdrī as with a boat, O faultless one, by sharing the children with her and thus obtain fame.'

servam evānapatyasya na pāvanam ihocynte 1.111.24.

'Everything belonging to a childless person is said to be unblest.'

SON.

The following words are used for a son :

putra, *putraḥ*, *sūta*, *ātmaja*, *tanaya*, *sūnu*, *nandana*, *dāyāda*, *dāraḥ*, and *kumāra*. Of these the words *putra* and *suta* are used most.

The word *putra* is used

(1) for one's own sons. Among these are to be counted (a) one's own son, (b) a son born of one's wife by somebody else during one's life-time, (c) a son born to one's wife after the death of the husband (d) a son born to one's wife while she was yet a maiden at her father's house, and (e) a son born to a daughter who is pledged as *putrikā* to perpetuate the father's line.

- (2) brother's son. (3) In dual it is employed for a son and daughter.
(4) for any person of a descending generation.

(1a) yañ *putram* aṣṣamāñ r̥janīstvam purā mayyaj'yithch |
sa te'yañ puruṣavyāghra nayaśvinañ gṛh̥ntikm || 1.54.31.

'O, king, tiger among men! this is the eighth son, whom you had through me. Take him home with you.'

(1b) manniyog't sukeśānte dvij'ies tepas'dhik't |
putrān guṇasam'yukt'ān utp'dayitum arhasi |
tvatkṛte'hañ prthu'roni śaccheyañ *putrān* gat,m || 1.113.30.

"At my command you should give birth to virtuous son through the agency of some Brahmin, who has practised penance. By this your action I shall gain the blessedness of having children (of being the father of sons)."

(1c) bhṛtub *putrān* prad'asyāmi mitravaruṇayob sam'ān |
vratāñ carot'ān te devyau nirdiṣ'am iha yañ mayā || 1.99.38.

'I shall give to my brother sons like Mitra and Varuṇa. Let the two queens practice the observances as told by me.' (Vyāsa promises to give birth to sons through the widows of Vicitravīrya. They are Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāṣṭra who thus become the sons of Vicitravīrya.)

so'si Karpā tatā jātā Pāṇḍob *putro'si* dharmatāb || 5.138.9.

'Thus are you, Karpā, according to custom the son of Pāṇḍu (Karpā was born to Kuntī in her maidenhood).

tesyām ajunayāt *putrān* r̥jānāñ Babhruvāhanam |
tām dṛstvā Pāṇḍavo r̥jān gokarṇam abhito'gamat || 1.209.24.

'He gave birth through her to a son named Babhruvāhana for the king. After seeing him the Pāṇḍava went towards Gokarṇa' (Babhruvāhana was taken up as the son by his mother's father the king of Maṇalapurā.)

(2) Throughout the critical edition the word *putra* is used for brother's son also.

kim n'ma vakṣyaty avanīpradhānāb pitr̥n samāgamaya paratra p'pāb |
putreṣu samyak caritañ mayeti *putrān* ap'pān avaropya r̥jyāt || 3.119.10.

'What will king (Dhṛtarāṣṭra) say to his ancestors when he goes to heaven? Can he, after depriving his innocent sons of their kingdom,

say that he has behaved impartially towards his sons ? (The innocent sons are the Pāṇḍavas, the brother's children of king Dhṛtarāṣṭra).

asani'nyam te'pi mamaiva putrāḥ Duryodhanas tu mama dehāt prasūtiḥ |
svami vai dehaḥ parihetos tyajeti ko nu hrīyāt samalāmanavakeṣan || 3.5.18.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra says : " Doubtless, those (the Pāṇḍavas) are also my son's ; but Duryodhana is born of my own body. How can one, who lays claim to balanced judgment, demand that one should sacrifice one's own body for the sake of others ?

nāhinndami te rājan vyavasāyam itam prabho |
putrai bhedo yathā na syād dyūtaheṣo tathā kum || 2.45.52.

' I do not like what you are doing, O king, my master. Act in such a way that your sons (sons and nephews) do not fall out on account of the place of dice.'

Kṣattāḥ putreṣu putrai me kalaho na bhaviṣyati || 2.45.53.

O Kṣatta ! my sons (sons and nephews) shall not quarrel among themselves.

igto hi putrasya putā sahaiva |
tadasmī kartā Vidurāttha mām yathā || 2.52.15.

The father is always adored of the son. Therefore I shall do as you, O, Vidura, have told me. (Vidura is mentioned as father by Dharma, their relation is that of a man and his brother's son).

Prēmḍya parakṣatani kṛtārthan punarāgatam |
putram ūādya Bhīsmas tu harṣād aśrūṇy avartayat || 1.105.26.

' Bhīṣma shed tears when he got back the son who had defeated the enemies, and achieved his intentions.' (Here Pāṇḍu is mentioned as the son of Bhīṣma).

The word *suta* is used also in all the senses (1a) and (1b) as the word *putra*. (2) In dual the word connotes a son and a daughter and (3) at one place it is used in the general sense of descendant without reference to any particular generation, and (4) for a brother's son.

(1a) so'rjmena parimṛṣṭaḥ paryadevayutārtavat |
bahulaṁ kṛpamā caiva Virāṭasya sutas tadā || 4.36.38

The son of Virāta when seized by Arjuna wailed long and pitiably.

(16) *evam Paṇḍuh saūh paṇca devadatt-mahābalāḥ |*
sambhūtāḥ kṛtūmantas te kuruvamśavivādhamāḥ || 1.115.25.

'Thus were born the five powerful sons of Pāṇḍu, given to him by the gods. These sons earned glory and extended the family of Kurus.'

(2) *anujānti m.m ārya suta me parirakṣa ca || 1.146.28.*

'Give me leave my husband, and protect my son and daughter' (or, two children).

(3) *Akrūrāḥ Kṛtavarmā ca Sātyakiśca Śinī sutaḥ | 2.4.27.*

'Akrūra, Kṛtavarmā and Sātyaki, the child of Śinī (Sātyaki is the grandchild of Śinī).

(3) *īhaiva putraṁ nīkṣīpya Nalasya piyadarśinam gatas tato yathāhik'mem....3.*

'Depositing the two comely children (son and daughter) of Nala here, he went away where he pleased.'

(4) The word *putra* is used as a term of address to any person of a descendant generation whether that person happens to be a son or a grandson. Thus used it means any descendant.

na viśeṣa'sti me putra tvayi teṣu ca pāthiḥa | 5.145.39.

Bhīṣma says to Duryodhana, "son, I do not prefer one to the other between you and they (the Pāṇḍavas).

nātaptatapasah putra prṇuvvanti mahat sukham | 3.245.12

Vyāsa says to Dharmarāja, his grandson; "Son, nobody, who has not undergone penance can get happiness.

(4) *katham na satyaḥ śucitāryavṛttāḥ jyeṣṭhaḥ sūtṛnām munaḥ Dharmarājah |*

Ajātāturuḥ pṛthivītalasthaḥ śete.... || 3.225.9.

'How can my eldest son Dharmarāja, the truthful, the holy, the noble, and without enemies sleep on ground? (Dhṛtarāṣṭra speaks of Dharma as the eldest among his sons.) The word *putra* is a diminutive form of *putra* and is used as a term of address to the own son or grandson to any young person. Thus we find the *putra* and *suta*, the two words

most commonly used for son are used in a classificatory sense. The dual of the word *tanaya* is used to denote son and daughter together.

sameṣyasi ca dānis tvam nū sma śolo manah kthāh |
rājyena tanayābhyām ca. ... || 3.63.21

You will be united with your wife and two children (son and daughter) and get back your kingdom, do not give over your mind to grief. (The form *tanayābhyām* can also be from *tanayā* the feminine of *tanaya* but all the other words used in dual for son and daughter like *sutau*, *dāraḥau* are in masculine and so this form may also be a masculine.

Duryodhana kutomālaṁ bhīṣm arto'si putraḥa | 3.45.6

Dhṛtarāṣṭra says to Duryodhana, "Duryodhana, my child, what is the reason of this excessive sadness?

yad vakṣyasi mahābāho tatkarīṣyāmi putraḥa | 3.23.23.

Bhagadatta being defeated by Arjuna says to him :

O son (child) with powerful arms, I shall do as you bid me.

labhena tathāśvasya paritapyāmi putraḥa || 3.106.18.

'O son (grandson), I am also troubled at not getting back the horse' (Sagara addresses his grandson Amśumān as *putraḥa*—little son.)

sūhyaṁ kuruta putraḥaḥ | 1.70.35.

'O my sons give me help' (Yayāti addresses all his sons).

The word *Ātmaja* is used for (1) son, for (2) son and daughter and for descendant in general.

Ilinaṁ janayāmiśa Kālindyaṁ taṁ surātmajam || 1.90.28.

"Tamsu begot his son Ilina by Kālindī."

tau vihānu mayā bāṇau tvayā caiva mamātmajau |
vinaśyetān na samdehaḥ..... || 1.146.20.

"These, our young son and daughter (two children)" will certainly die if they are left without you and me."

ca tathā satkṛtaḥ sarveir Bhoja Vyṣpyandṛakātmajaiḥ || 1.210.19.

"He was thus honoured by all the sons (descendants of the clans of Bhoja Vrsni and Andhaka."

The words *sūnu* and *tanaya* occur much less frequently than the above words. They are found to mean own son.

na vārasām na rāmāpām nāpām sparśas tathā sukhah |
śiśorālīngyamnānesya sparśah sūno yathā sukhah || 1.68.55.

The touch of clothes, of women and of waters is not as pleasant as the embrace of an infant son."

śaśīpa lānapi kruddho Yayāti tanayān atha | 5.147.11.

'Yayāti being enraged cursed even those sons.'

The word *nandana* meaning "one who gives joy" is used in this (1) original sense as also in the sense of (2) son and (3) descendant in general.

apadyad ajitah samikhye muniṁ protinukhāgataṁ |
śaktiṁ nāma nūhābhāgaṁ Vasiṣṭhakulanandanam |
jyestha' putratātāṭ putraṁ Vasiṣṭhasya mahātmanah || 1.166.4

"The (king) unconquered in battle, saw coming in opposite direction the sage, called Śakti, the eldest of Vasiṣṭha's hundred sons and the joy of the race of Vasiṣṭhas."

(2) dadarśa kanyās tās caiva Bhīsmah Śāntanuṇandanah || 1.96.5

Bhīṣma, the son of Śāntanu, saw those maidens.

tasminīs tathā vartamāne kurudśārhanandanau |
samīpe jagmatuḥ kiṁcid uddeśaṁ aumanoharam || 1.214.26

"The two sons of the races of Kuru and Dāśārha (Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa went to a certain beautiful spot."

The word *dāyāda*, which in Smṛti literature is used for those descendants, who have a share in the father's estate is used in the epic, purely as a synonym of words like *putra*, *tanaya* and *sūnu* meaning a son and (2) also rarely in its meaning of inheritor. *Dāyāda*, that which is inherited, also occurs.

nyam sa puruṣavyāghraḥ punar āyāti dharmavit |
yo naḥ svām iva dāyādān dharmeṇa parirakṣati || 1.199.17

"Here comes back again, the tiger among men, and known of dharma. He will now protect us like his own sons."

daṣṭuṃ hi Pāṇḍuḍāyādāns tvānta kuravo hṛṣam | 1.198.21

"The people of Kuru are hastening to see the sons of Pāṇḍu."

In genealogical narratives we find the word *dāyāda* used simply as a synonym of putra.

Śaśādaṣya tu dāyādah Kakustho nāma vīryavān | 3.193.2.

"Śaśāda's son was the famous Kakustha."

Śrāvastasya tu dāyādo Brhadāsvo mahābalaḥ | 3.193.4

"The son of Śrāvasta was the powerful Brhadāsva."

*aparohiḥgnidāyadas tmmacūdam bhujena saḥ |
mahākāyam upāśiṣṭam kukkutaṃ balinām varaḥ |
gṛhītvā vyanodat || 3.214.23.*

"That son of Agni, with his other hand held a huge, red-crested, crow and shouted."

*dāyādām matsyarājasya kule jītam manasvinam |
katham tvām ninditam karma kārayeyam nṛpūtmaja || 5.38.13.*

"O son of a king, you are the son of the king of Matsya, born of a noble family and proud. How can I make you do something which is despicable?"

kanṭyān mama dāyādo jarā yena dhṛtā mama | 1.80.20.

The younger one who has borne my old age is my heir.

*ime vai bandhudāyādāḥ saḥ putrā dharmadarśanaḥ |
śadevchandhudāyādāḥ putrāṃs tān sṛṇu me pṛthe || 1.111.27.*

According to our law books these six sons are *bandhudāyāda*. There are other six (kinds of) sons which are not *bandhu-dāyāda*. (In this verse sons who are *dāyāda* are set against sons who are not *dāyāda*. For detailed discussion on this see part 2nd of this paper. pp. 123-148)

*ena Pāṇḍor dāyādāyam yadi prāpnōti Pāṇḍavaḥ |
tasya putro dhruvān prāptāḥ tasya tasyeti cāparaḥ || 1.129.15.*

" If the Pāṇḍava (Dharma) gets this inheritance from Pāṇḍu, then his son and after him his son will surely get it."

va rājā tasya te putrāḥ pūṇa dīpādīgabhāṅgāḥ |

mā tān kaluṣāḥ kārṣṭh rājasyārdham pradiyatām || 5145.37.

" He was the king. These are his sons, and as such entitled to the inheritance. Son : do not seek a quarrel. Give them half of this kingdom."

Dāraka means a child or a son. In dual it may mean the son and daughter.

anvesyāmiha bhartāraṁ atam pietavaśam gatam |

utistha tvaṁ vijayinam invā takṣasva dārakān || 1116.24

I shall follow the departed husband, leave him, get up and take care of these sons.

mama jñātāḥ nikṣipya dārakāḥ svandanaṁ tathā |

avāṁśi cunnāḥ yethā kṛmāḥ vṛṣa vā'nyatra śreṣṭha vā || 357.18.

" Deposit these two children (the son and the daughter) at my father's house. Deposit also the chariot and the horses there and then stand there or go elsewhere according to your pleasure."

The word *kumāra* is used for a son or a child, but connotes "boy" rather than son.

idam jitam idam labdham ite śrūtvā parājitaḥ |

dyotakāle mahārāja smayase sma kumāravat || 535.10

" When you heard the words, ' this is won ', this is obtained " and knew them to be defeated at the time of the dice-play you laughed like a boy."

tataḥ samabhavat Droṇaḥ kumāras tasya dhīmataḥ || 1545

" Then was born Droṇa his son."

teṣāṁ kumārāḥ sevesgāṁ pūvesgāṁ mama jñātṛ ||

kanyā tu mām jāteyam. . . || 1,207.20.

" To all my ancestors were born sons (boys). But to me was born this daughter (girl)."

BROTHER'S SON (MAN SPEAKING)

The words *putra* and *suta* are used. See above.

BROTHER'S SON (WOMAN SPEAKING).

No special term is found. Kṛṣṇa is Kuntī's brother's son, but he is not addressed by any kinship term.

SISTER'S SON (MAN SPEAKING).

Two words *bhāgīneya* and *svasṛīya* are used. They are used every where with reference to a man's sisters' son.

tais cōpy uktaḥ *bhāgīneyaḥ* prasannaḥ.... |

Ipaitam sarvasya te katarāḥ sma pravaraḥ *bhāgīneya* || 1.53.21.

(The Nāgas say to Āstika the son of their sister Jaratkāru). "The nephew was spoken to by them. O nephew : (sister's son) we shall do what you please."

Abhimanyuḥ Subhadrāyām Arjunadḥbhiyajyanta |

svasṛīyo Vāsudevasya..... || 1.57.100.

"Abhimanyu, the nephew of Vāsudeva, was born of Subhadrā to Arjuna."

Kṛpāḥ Śradvata's caiva yata ete trayas tatra |

Droṇam ca *bhāgīneyam* ca na sa tyakṣyati kṛhicit || 1.130.17

"Kṛpa, the son of Śradvata will side with these three. He is never likely to leave Droṇa and his nephew."

vadhvāḥ putrā *bhāgīneyā* bhagīnyo |

dauhitrā kvacid apy avyākṣṇḥ || 5.23.14.

"The daughters-in-law, the sons, the nephews (sister's son) the sisters and daughter's son—are they all in good health"

bhāgīneyān nijān tyaktvā Śalyas te rathasattamaḥ |

eṣa yotsyati.... || 5.162.27.

"Leaving his own sister's son, the great chariot-fighter Śalya will fight (with you)."

bhāgīneya vīraḥ sa kariṣyati saṁgare |

sumahatkarma.... || 5.119.1.

"He (Purujiit, the son of Kuntibhoja and brother of Kunti) the hero will do great deeds in the battle for the sake of his nephews (sister's sons)."

tathā Bhīmīrjunau lūṣṭau *śasṛīṅau* ca yaujv ubhau
 āsane coṣavīśas tu Śalyaḥ Pārtham uvāca ha 5.8.18.

"Bhīma and Arjuna and the twin nephews were glad. Then Śalya taking a seat spoke thus to Pārtha."

adehaḍ Dvārakām eva *śasṛīṅau* san. narādhipāh 2.42.7

"O kings! he though a sister's son burned the city of Dvārakā. (Kṛṣṇa is speaking of Śiṣupāla)."

In Aranyaka 132.3.4 and 20 the son of Uddālaka and the son of Kahoda are referred to as *mātula*, *bhāḡineyau* (uncle and nephew—"mother's brother" and sister's son)."

Thus all references to a sister's son with the words *śasṛīṅau* and *bhāḡineyau* are to a man's sister's son. No reference occurs for a woman's sister's son.

DAUGHTER.

For daughter the following words are used :

duhitṛ, *sutā*, *tanayā*, *ātmajā*, *ḡanyā*, *ḡanyakā*, *putrī*, *putrīkā* and *ḡumārī*, *tanūjā* and *nandīnī*.

The words *duhitṛ*, *sutā*, *tanayā*, *ātmajā*, *putrī* and *tanūjā* are used always to denote daughter. The word *putrī* is sometimes used in vocative as a mode of address for the daughter-in-law by the mother-in-law or the father-in-law. While *putrīkā* has most often a special meaning. The words *ḡanyā*, *ḡanyakā* and *ḡumārī* are used generally for a girl and sometimes are used as a kinship term meaning daughter. *Duhitṛ* is very often used and means daughter. It is never used in a general sense meaning a girl. *Duhitṛtva* means daughter-hood.

svargaśrīḥ Paṇḍavārthīya samutpannā mahāmakhe
 seha taptvā tapo ghoram *duhitṛtva*ṁ tavīgatā 1.189.49.

"The Svargaśrī was generated for the Pāṇḍavas, from the great sacrifice. That Svargaśrī has obtained your daughter-hood after undergoing difficult penance."

Sutā is used for daughter. It is found compounded with the name of a country or a people to denote the princess of that country. Draupadī is mentioned as *Pāncāla-sutā* i. e. the daughter of the country of Pāncāla (5.191.3) and Ambā is mentioned as *Kāśī-sutā* i. e. the princess of Kāśī. The word *ālmajā* is also used for daughter. The words *tanayā* and *tanūyā* are used but rarely. The word *putrī* occurs in compound as *Rāja-putrī* meaning king's daughter (1.200.15) or *guru-putrī* meaning the daughter of the preceptor (1.72.7,17). It is used uncompounded extremely rarely in this sense e. g. *Anatāyāḥ Śukī putī* 1.60.66 'Śukī is the daughter of Anālā.'

In the vocative it is used also as a term of address for the daughter-in-law.

Sukra uvāca—Bṛhaspateḥ sutab putrī Kacab preṅgatiṁ gataḥ 1.71.35.

Sukra said, "O daughter : Kaca the son of Brahspati is dead.

vyathitāṁ mām ca saṁpauksya pūṣyamāṁ ca pūṣitam |
Bṛhasmo huddhimadān mo'dya dharmasya ca vivṛddhaye ||
sā ca buddhis tavadbhūtā putī jñātām maṇeti ha || 1.99.46,47

'Seeing my sorrow and seeing the plight of the race of his father Bhīṣma has given me counsel in order to maintain dharma. O daughter-in-law (putrī) the success of the advice rests with you. (Said by Satyawati to Ambikā)."

jīva putī sutas te'yaṁ Dharmaputro Yudhiṣṭhirab |
sarvān...prāśaiṣyati || 1.144.13.

"May you live (long) daughter-in-law (putrī) this son of yours Yudhiṣṭhira, born of Dharma will rule all." (Said by Vyāsa to Kuntī).

putī kasyaiṣa sāṅgasya vedasyādhyayanavnah || 1.167.13.

'Daughter(in-law) whose is this voice repeating all the Vedas? (Said by Vasīṣṭha to Adrṣyantī also 1.168.1).

The word *putrikā* is most often used in a very technical sense and denotes a daughter who is destined to give over her son as an heir to her father. An only daughter is very often given in marriage to a man on his promising that he gives the first male offspring or all children of the union as heirs to his father-in-law, in which case it is supposed to

hear the name of his maternal grandfather. In the *Āraṇyaka* Parvan however at three places in the same adhyāya the word *putrikā* is used simply for girl or daughter.

tāh sarvās tv anavadyāṅgyah kanyāh kanyakalanāh
putrikāḥ sthūpayāmāsa nastaputrah prajāptitah || 160.11.

"All those daughters of faultless beauty and of lotus like eyes were established as *putrikās* by the *prajāpati* who sons had perished." (See also 1.2.209).

Citrāngadā, the daughter of the king of Maṇahurpura, was a *putrikā* daughter as her son from Arjuna inherited her father's kingdom.

This concept of *putrikā* —daughters and the actual examples of such a practice in the epic raise a number of interesting questions from the point of view of the study of social institutions and culture contact. These are discussed in detail in part II of this paper.

The word *putrikā* is used simply to mean daughter in the *Āraṇyaka* Parvan, and used once for grand-daughter as a mode of address where it is comparable to the diminutive *putrakū*.

Bṛhaspatēś Cāndramasī bharyābhūd yā yacrvinī |
 agnir aśanavat punyān śadekām capī *putrikām* 3.209.1

"Bṛhaspati's wife was the illustrious Cāndramasī. She gave birth to six holy fires and one daughter."

Bharatas tu sutes tasya Bharaty ekā ca *putrikā* 3.209.7

"Bharata was the son and Bharatī was the only daughter."

Krodhasya tu taso jajñe manyatī cūha *putrikā* 3.209.22

To Krodha was born Rasa and daughter Manyatī.

As sons are mentioned in all these passages *putrikā* is simply a synonym for *putrī* and cannot have any special meaning.

mā gūh putrigham bhacīe mātas te janako hyaham 3.174.20
 duhkhām chotsyāmi te'hain vai mayi vartasva *putrikā* 3.174.21

"Do not go to your father's house; I am your mother's father. I shall remove all your sorrow. Be advised by me, little one.

The word *Kanyā* means generally (1) a maiden—an unmarried virgin girl, (2) a daughter or a girl, and (3) is used as a girl or a kinship term.

sa dadarśa tadā *kanyām* dāśānām devarūpiṇīm
tām apr̥cchat... *kasya* tvam aśi kā cāsi.... || 1.94.43.
as̥bravīt *kanyā* 'mi.... || 1.94.44.

"He saw the beautiful daughter of the fisherfolk. He asked her, "whose art thou? Who art thou?" She said, "I am a maiden." (This reply is to the question, whose art thou? When she says she is a maiden (*kanyā*), she says that she does not belong to anyone i. e. is still to be married.)

athāpāśyat *kanyām*.... 3.190.10.
tām abravīt rājā *kasyasi* subhage | tvam |
vā pr̥tyuvāca *kanyā* amiti |
tām rājovāca arthi tvayāham iti | 14.

He then saw a girl. The king asked, "auspicious one! whose art thou?" She replied, "I am a maiden". The king said to her "I desire you".

In the same way *kanyātua* and *kanyābhava* mean maidenhood or virginity just as *kanyā* means a virgin.

kanyāto dūśite cāpi katham śakṣey dvijottama |
gantum gṛham.... || 1.57.62.
....ṛṣisattamaḥ uvāca matpriyam kṛtvā *kanyāiva* tvam bhaviṣyasi || 1.57.63.

O best among brahmins! how can I go home with my virginity lost? The sage replied, "You shall become (remain) a virgin even after yielding to my wishes." (The reference is to Satyawatī and Parāśara).²

(2) *Kanyā* is used simply to mean a girl or a daughter without any emphasis on maidenhood.

(6) *kanyāpi* tvai kimcīt tu vakṣyāmi bharatarābhaḥ |
balavat sapatnatām atra dotān paśyāmi kevalam || 1.94.74.

²This curious idea of coitus without loss of virginity appears at other places in the critical text: Kuntī and Savitṛ (Sun) when Kuntī gives birth to Karṇa without loss of virginity. Draupadī also during the period of marriage to the five brothers one after the other became as a virgin at the end of each day. (1.190.14)

"O, bull among the Bharatas, I being the father of the girl wish to speak something to you. In this arrangement the only drawback I see is that of rivalry with step-brothers."

In the Udyoga Parvan Dharma sends his love to all the daughters living in Hastināpura. Here the word *kanyā* is used as a kinship term, the other loving messages being given to sons, daughters-in-law etc. As there is no record of the Pāṇḍavas having any daughters, *kanyā* is used here in a classificatory sense and refers to all the girls born of the Kaurava brothers. Dharma also mentions the husbands of these *kanyās*. So in this context *kanyā* does not mean a virgin but simply a daughter of the great Kaurava clan of which the Pāṇḍavas were members.

kanyāḥ svajēhāh sadaneṣu Sañjaya |
anāmayān madvacaneṣa pṛṣṭvā |
kalyāṇā vāh santu patayo'nukūlā ||
yūyān patinān bhavatānukūlāh || 5.30.35.

"Embrace the daughters and enquire after their health, O Śaṅjaya, on my behalf. May they be agreeable and auspicious to their husbands and may their husbands be good to them."

...me *kanyām svakanyā* the mohād yācitavān aśi || 5.190.22.

"You asked the hand of my daughter for your daughter through folly."

katham Śikhandī Gāṅgeya *kanyā* bhūtā...puruṣo'bhavadyndhī || 5.189.1.

"Son of Ganges I how was it that Śikhandī who was born as a girl became a man in battle."

There are also compound words like *Drupada-kanyā*, *Pannageśvara-kanya* where the word *kanyā* is used as a kinship term to mean daughter and they mean e.g. Drupada's daughter, the daughter of the king of the snakes etc.

The word *kanyakā* means the same as *kanyā* but is used rarely. It means a girl or a daughter.

mātuh kulān pitṛkulān yatra caiva pradīyate |
 kulatrayān saṁśayitān kurute *kanyakā* satām || 5.95.16.

"A daughter brings into disrepute her father's house, her mother's house and also the family into which she is given as a bride,"

The word *kumārī* is used for (a) a young virgin, (b) for a girl or a daughter without reference to age or virginity.

ilhrvañ na rocet bhāratyābhāsyā |
patib *kumārī* iva pañcivṃśab || 3.6.15.

"Surely this (good advice) is not liked by the king of the Bharatas just as a husband sixty years old is not liked by a young virgin."

aham āśedito nājan *kumārī* pitu āśine || 1.68.70.

Śakuntala says, "O king, I am inexperienced maiden was found by you at my father's cottage."

utpēdya putran āpṛāñī ca kṛtvā |
vṛttīm ca lābhya'nnviditīyā kāmīnt |
etān *kumārī*h pratipēdya saivā |
nāyga-anītho munivad bālāścet || 5.37.35.

After giving birth to sons, finding some means of livelihood for them, after marrying off the daughters to proper husbands then may one like an ascetic take up residence in forest.

kumārīlāṇām sileṇ vāgyāmy aham arimdaṃam || 1.94.82.

"I am speaking this from the anxiety felt by a girl's parents—as the father of a daughter."

The word *nandini* (the joy-giver) is used twice as a term of address for a daughter in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan*.

jānāmi prapūḍhānā te bālyāt prabṛuḥ *nandini* || 3.287.19.

"O daughter (*nandini*), I know.... from your childhood"

evam etat tvayā bhēdie kartvyaṃ aviśāṅkayā |
madhātātāṃ kulāṭhām a tatātātārtham ca *nandini* || 3.288.11.

"You should do this without any fear for my sake, for the good of the family and for your own good, O daughter!"

DAUGHTER OF BROTHER OR SISTER.

For brother's daughter and sister's daughter no words are found in the text. Sister's daughter is called by a woman the descriptive term *bhaginyā duhitu* at one place.

bhaginyā duhitā me'si pīḥunānena sūcitā || 3.66.12

The queen-mother of Cedi says to Damayantī - "You are revealed by this birth mark, as my sister's daughter."

SON'S SON.

The son's son is called *putra* and *napitṛ*, the descriptive word *putraja* (born of the son) is also used. The word *putra* is also used in a classificatory sense to include brother's son's son. Expression in which the words *putra* and *putra* and *napitṛ* come together or are coupled in a compound occur very often.

Sātyakī is often referred to as Śitū's grandson e.g.

Śiter *napitṛ* 3.19.19.

Śiter *putram* 5.118.20.

putraputrām paśūnś caiva vetasya | 3.78.13.

"You will be in possession of sons, grandsons and cattle."

na me putra bhaved ityā kṛmān *putro* bhavediti 3.115.27.

"Let not my son be like this, let my grandson be so."

ījyān tad etan rukhilaṁ Pāṇḍavānān *putrīmahaṁ putraputrāṇuṣāni* 1.46.32.

"This whole kingdom belongs to the Pāṇḍavas. It has come down from the ancestors and is inherited in the direct male line from the son to the grandson."

sa tvam kuru tatthā tāta svamatena pṛtīmaha

yathā jīvanti te *putrāḥ* pṛtīmantah paraspṛtam 5.31.10.

"O grandfather (grand-uncle) act in your own wisdom in such a way that your grandsons will live amicably with one another." (This is said by Dharma to Bhīṣma and the grandsons are grandnephews as the Dhārtarāṣṭras and Pāṇḍavas were the sons of the sons of the brother of Bhīṣma.)

ye caivānye kuruntukhyā yuvānāḥ *putrāḥ putrā* bhūtaḥ caiva ye naḥ |

yam yam eṣāṁ yena yenaḥ bhioṣchet an-mayāṁ madhavanama vāyah | 3.30.22.

"And all those others, chief among the younger Kurus, those who are our sons, grandsons and brothers, each one of them you should convey greetings from me." (Dharmarāja is giving messages of friendship to all the members of the kingly house of Hastināpura. The sons,

grandsons and brothers referred to here are, the nephews (cousin's children) their sons and cousins respectively).

SON'S DAUGHTER.

The word *pautrī* (son's daughter) is not found in the Critical Edition.

Dauhitrīyaṃ mama Vibho Kāśīśeṣasutā puyā 5.175 .15.

DAUGHTER'S SON AND DAUGHTER.

For the daughter's son and daughter, the words *dauhitra* and *dauhitri* are used.

Airāvataṅkulo j'taḥ Sumukho nēma Nāgata |
Āryakasya mataḥ pautro dauhitro Vēmanasya ca || 5.101.23.

"This Sumukha, a king of the Nāgas, the son's son of Āryaka and the daughter's son of Vēmanana."

"This is my dear grand-daughter (- daughter's daughter), the daughter of the King of Kāśī.

Terminology for Kinship by Marriage

FATHER'S BROTHER'S WIFE.

She is called *mātṛ* or mother (see page 61). For the following relations no terms have occurred so far in the Mbh. (in the first five Parvans).

FATHER'S SISTER'S HUSBAND, MOTHER'S SISTER'S HUSBAND, MOTHER'S
BROTHER'S WIFE, WIFE'S SISTER, HUSBAND'S SISTER, SISTER'S
HUSBAND, HUSBAND'S BROTHER'S WIFE, BROTHER'S
WIFE (woman speaking).

FATHER-IN-LAW.

For father-in-law the terms used are *śvaśura* and *ārya*. These terms are applied not only to husband's father but to the brother of the husband's father and generally to all men whom the husband calls father and grandfather. Thus it is used in a classificatory way and includes all men of the husband's clan who are one generation or more

generations older than the husband. The same word is used also for the wife's father. In the dual form the word *śvaśura* means father-and-mother-in-law.

sarvakāmakriyābhis ca sarvesām tuṣṭim śvabat |
śvasṛṣṭiṁ śarvasatkāśaḥ sarvaṁ ūcchādanādibhiḥ |
śvaśuraṁ devakūyais ca vācaḥ sāmyamanena ca || 3.279.23.

"By pleasing behaviour she satisfied all—she pleased the mother-in-law by attending to her bodily needs like clothing etc. She pleased the father-in-law by doing her duties towards the gods and by keeping a control on her speech."

tena satyena tāv adya dhriyētā śvaśuraṁ mama || 3.281.97

"I swear by this that my parents-in-law will be prosperous and living."

Duḥśasanaḥ pratilomyaṁ nināya śabbhṁ adhye śvaśuraṁ nāṁ ca Kṛṣṇam 5.29.33.

"Against all rules of propriety Duḥśasana brought Kṛṣṇa in the assembly where her fathers-in-law were present." (Kṛṣṇa's—Draupadī's—father-in-law was dead long before her marriage. The people referred to as fathers-in-law here are the brothers of her husbands' father i. e. Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Vidura and other elderly members of the Kuru clan).

yatrābravit sūtaputrāḥ sabhāyāṁ Kṛṣṇam sthitam śvaśuraṁ namīpe || 5.29.36.

"Where the son of the charioteer said to Kṛṣṇa, who was standing near her fathers-in-law."

śāhāṁ pitrā ca nikṛtā śvaśuraḥ ca paravṛtapaḥ | 5.88.63.

"Such am I, wronged by my father and by my fathers-in-law" (Kuntī is here referring to Bhīṣma, the brother of her father-in-law, to other elderly Kuru men).

īato'bhivādayāmāsa prayataḥ śvaśuraṁ Nalaḥ || 3.76.2.

"Nala then humbly bowed to his wife's father."

āryas tv eṣa pitrā tasya pitus tava mahātmanaḥ || 1.169.8.

"The honoured gentleman (here is the father of your father" (ārya here means the "honoured one" and the elderly persons in the family are now and then referred to in this manner.)

bhīṣm mām āryakas tubhyaṁ kriḍantīm kanduḥastakīm |
adadāt kuntibhojāya.... | 5.88.71.

The honoured one (here the own father is referred to in this way by Kuntī) gave me, who was but a child, playing with you with a ball, to Kuntibhoja.

MOTHER-IN-LAW.

Śvaśrū and *āryā* are the words used for the mother-in-law by a woman. In the text so far published the word is not used for the husband's uncle's wife or for the wife's mother.

ye ca dharmā kuṭumbhe *śvaśrū* me kathitāḥ purā....

tān sarvānanuvartāmi || 3.22.32.

"I follow all the rules of behaviour (traditions) of this family, which were told me formerly by my mother-in-law."

nityam *āryām* ahaṁ kuntīm.... |

avayam paricarāmy ekām enāṁcchādanabhojanaiḥ || 3.33.38.

"Always do I wait personally on Kuntī, the honoured one, with respect to things concerning her bath, clothes and meals."

purāḥ sūptinupādhikṣitā bhrātṛān vāraṇāvate |

śayānān *āryā* sārdaṁ.... || 3.13.78.

"Again, did he burn the children sleeping by the side of the honoured one at the city of Vāraṇāvata." (Draupadī while speaking about her mother-in-law generally uses the term *āryā*).

HUSBAND.

The terms for husband are *pati*, *bhartr*, *nātha* and *vara*. First three terms are used also in the sense of lord and master without any kinship connotation.

pañca te *patayo*ḥ śreṣṭhā bhaviṣyanti || 1.189.44.

"You shall get five excellent husbands."

mahatīm caiva bhūtānām sarveṣāṁ iha yaḥ *patiḥ* |

bhagavān sa mahātejaḥ.....pāvakaḥ || 3.212.3.

"He who is the master and lord of all great forces is the luminous lord Pāvaka."

Also in innumerable expressions like *nadanādīpati* (3.267.35) (The lord of rivers, great and small), *Kurūṇām pati* (3.173.20 The lord of the Kurus), *prajānām pati* (Lord of the living) etc. 1.131.

The word has no kinship connotation.

The expression *patiloka* occurs a few times with slightly different meanings each time.

putralokāḥ *patilokān* viṣvānā satyavācīnti |
piyān putrān parityajya Pāṇḍavān anvapadyata || 5.88.43.

"The truthful one choosing to share the fate of her husbands (*patiloka*) rather than that of her sons, left her beloved sons and has followed the Pāṇḍavas."

yokṛte dukkhaśāntim imān prāptāsmi śāśvatīm |
patilokād viḥnā ca naiva strī no pumān iha || 5.188.4.

"Through him (Bhīṣma) have I reached this eternally pitiable state. I am deprived of wifehood (deprived of the condition of having a husband) I am neither man nor maid."

sā gatā saha tenaiṣa *patilokam* anuvratā |
tasya tasya ca yat kṛyān kīyatīm tad anantaram || 1.177.29.

"She has followed her husband in death, their death ceremonies may be performed soon."

bhartṛ also means husband and lord or master. The expression *bhartṛloka* parallel to *patiloka* also occurs.

īpaitā ca guṇāḥ atirīṣm ekanyā bahu *bhartṛā* |
tam ca prāptavati Kṛṣṇā na sā bhedayitum sukham || 1.194.8.

"Women covet the condition of being the one wife of many husbands. Kṛṣṇā has obtained it and so it is not easy to create disaffection in her mind."

vajrasya *bhartṛ*ā bhuvanasya goptā || 1.3.151.

"The holder ($<\sqrt{bhṛ}$ to hold) of the thunderbolt, the protector of the world."

Yudhiṣṭhīro rājaputro mahātman.... |
sa kauravasyāṣya janasya *bhartṛ*ā || 5.147.31.

"Yudhiṣṭhira the great prince is the master and protector of the Kuru people."

prapīdhēyendriyagrāmān *bhartṛloka*pariṣaye |
tyaktakāmasukhe hy āvār tasyāṅvo vipulān tapaḥ || 1.110.27.
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The word *nātha* is used less frequently and only rarely does it have a purely kinship connotation meaning husband. In its negative form *anātha* it occurs oftener and invariably means "one without protection". In the following stanza there is a play on these two senses of the word *nātha*.

nādhya-gacchat tadā nāthasṛiḥ kṛṣṇā nāthavatī antī || 5.88.86 and 5.135.18.

"At that time Kṛṣṇā though possessed of *nāthas* (husbands), possessed no *nātha* (protector)."

Pāṇḍavānām bhavān nātho bhavantaṁ cāśrītā vayaḥ || 2.18.9.

"You are the protector of Pāṇḍavas and we are your dependents."

The word *vara* is used in the sense of bridegroom or suitor.

yauvanasthān tu tān dṛṣṭvā svām sūtrān devartapinīm |
ayācyamānām ca varaiḥ nṛpatir duḥkṛto' bhavat || 3.277.17.

"Seeing that his daughter of heavenly beauty had reached youth without being sought by suitors, the king became sad."

dīptasya granthir anivartanīyaḥ evakarmaṇā vihitam neha kimcit |
kṛtam nimittam hi varasaketoḥ |
tadevedam upapannam bahinām || 1.190.2.

It is not possible to unravel the knot of Fate.

"There is nothing here which can be decided by one's own actions. This ceremony was intended to find out one bridegroom for the daughter and has resulted in her getting many."

nirdīyamaneṣu tu sā vareṣu varavarinī |
varān utkrāmya sarvāṁs tān vanam vṛtavatī varam || 5.118.5.

"While the beautiful one was being shown her suitors, she set them aside and chose the forest as her husband (groom)."

The words *bhāryāpati*, *dampati* are used for the husband and wife together.

tāms tān deśān vicinvantau dampatī pariśṛgmatuḥ | 3.282.3.

"The husband and wife wandered about exploring various regions (of the forest)."

bhāryāpatiḥ tam asīnam...prāñjaliḥ tasthatus tadā || 3.115.20.

"The husband and wife waited on him with folded hands."

WIFE.

A number of words are used for wife. The most commonly used are *bhāryā*, *patnī*, *dharmapatnī*, *jāyā*, and *dāra* and *kalatra*. Those which occur less frequently or are used but once are *sahadharminī*, *sahadharma-carī*, *gārhashtabhāginī*, *kāminī*, *kāntā* and *priya-vāsas* and *priyā*. Lastly the word *vadhū* is used in its meaning of wife only twice. The word *dayitā* occurs often as an adjective but once it may be construed to mean wife (beloved).

traya evādhanā rājan bhāryā dāsas tathā sutah |

yal te samadhighacchanti yasya te tasya tad dhanam || 5.33.57.

"O king, the wife, the slave and the son, these three are without property. If they acquire anything it belongs to him, whom they belong."

adharma'yam inama mato viruddha lokavedayoh |

na hy ekā vidyate patnī bahunām dvijasettama || 1.188.7

"In my opinion this is against custom—against usage and scriptures. O best among brahmins ! many cannot have one wife."

Dharmapatnī is an expression which occurs frequently and seems to mean a wife whom one weds according to usual rites.

yadīmān dharmapatnīm tvaṁ nūttat prārthayase 'nagha |

satyavāg aśi satyena samayam kuru me tatah || 1.94.48.

"If you wish to have this girl (*Satyavatī*) as your wedded wife then make a pact with me."

Draupadī, *Kuntī*, *Mādrī* are called or call themselves *dharmapatni* on various occasions. All these who have undergone a priestly wedding were entitled to be called *dharmapatnī*. *Śakuntalā*, *Gaṅgā* were evidently not *dharmapatnīs*.

bhāryām patiḥ sampravīśya sa yasmāj jāyate punah |

jāyāyā iti jāyātām purāṇāḥ kavayo viduḥ || 1.68.36.

"A husband enters his wife and is born again. That is the wifehood of a wife. (*jāyā*) so say the old seers."

jāyā janayate putram ātmano'ngam dvīdhā-kṛtam || 1.69.30.

The *jāyā* (wife) gives birth to the son, who is but the divided self (of his father)". The concept occurs again in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* (13.62). From this definition it would seem that the *jāyā* is any woman from whom a man begets a son and by this act she lays claims to wifehood.

The word *kalatra* is used always in the neuter gender. It occurs but rarely in the text and has perhaps not the same exalted sense that the word *patnī* has. It may have even a slightly derogatory sense like the words *das Weib* and *die Weiber* in German. It means the womenfolk.

pīdayā ca *kalatraya* bhūtyānām ca samāhitāḥ |
atīkṛtyā prayacchanti santaḥ sadbhīḥ samāgatāḥ || 3.198.85.

"Pious people when approached by deserving men, give away (alms) even beyond their means, even if it entails misery to their wives and dependents."

sa....dadarśa....nāśam Vṛṣṇīkalatrāṇām || 1.226.27.

"He saw the destruction of the womenfolk of the Vṛṣṇi clan."

The word *dāra* is masculine in gender and is used always in plural. It is used very often in the text as a synonym for *patnī*. Expressions like *dāragrahaṇa*, *dārasaṅgraha*, *dāraḥkriyā*, *dārasambandha*, (1.13.223; 1.13.23; 1.13.27 and 5.170.8; 1.187.22) are used for the act of marriage.

yah *dādāraḥ* sa viśvāsyah || 1.68.43.

"One who is married (is with a wife) is to be trusted."

The words (1) *sahadharminī*, (2) *sahadharmacarī*, and (3) *grāhasṭha-bhāginī* are not real kinship terms. They are descriptive terms which give a description of what a wife is supposed to be and mean respectively, 1 and 2 sharer in the duties and 3 sharer in the life as a householder.

prasthitaḥ *sahadharminīyā* mahatuyā daityasaṁyayā || 1.202.³

"They (two) started on their war with the great Daitya-army, as with a wife." (The army of a warrior equated to his wife is a device which we

³. atthainam abhyayuh sarvā devasenāḥ sahasraśah |

saṁkātān tvaṁ pātāsi itī bhuvāṇiḥ sarvato diśām ||

find also in *Āraṇyaka Parvan* 218.40 where the armies of the gods are supposed to be the wives of the god Kārttikeya⁴.

... na hi śakṣyāmi kāmāna... paryaktum aham || 1.145.30.

sahadharmaçarīṁ dāntāṁ nityaṁ mātṛsāmāṁ maina 1.145.31.

"I cannot make up my mind even to give up my wife (the sharer in my duties),.... and one who is like a mother to me."

mātrā pitṛā ca vihitāṁ sordā gāṛhasthyabhāgīṇāṁ || 1.145.32.

"She who is without father and mother and who ever shares in my toils as a householder."

The words *kāmīnī*, *kāntā* and *prīyavāsas* mean the beloved and may be used for wife indirectly.

navyantaḥ kāmūnīhāgas tvayā sa ca vivarjitaḥ |

tasmād aham nṛcaṁpye tvayī kīmaṁ varāṅgano || 1.92.10.

"The left-side is allotted to the wife (beloved). You have avoided that and so I cannot make love to you.

vilālāpa sa rājendras tatra kāmūṇāṁ anuśaraṇaḥ || 3.264.3

"The best of kings wept thinking of his wife (the loved one) "

Nahuṣo janayāmāsa saḥ putrāṇ prīyavāsaḥ || 1.70.28.

"Nahuṣa gave birth to six children through his favourite wife."

apasyanta.....preṣyavadhūṁ prīyavāsaḥ | 3.253.9

Saw the maidservant of their beloved (wife).

The word *vadhū* is used in the critical text generally to mean daughter-in-law. In two verses in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* it is used in the meaning of wife.

sa Kotikāśyaś tacchrutvā rathāt praskandya kuṇḍalī |

upetya papraccha tadā kroṣā vyāghravadhūṁ iva || 3.248.17

"Hearing this, Kotikāśya jumping from his chariot, approached and asked her, as a fox approaching the tiger's mate (wife)."

hājāṁ apasyanta tadā rudantiṁ | dhātreyikāṁ preṣyavadhūṁ prīyavāsaḥ || 3.253.9,

"They saw the little attendant, the maidservant of their beloved crying," (the expression *presyavadhū* is on par with expressions like *pauravadhū* etc. and is used as a synonym of *strī*, i. e. woman to mean womanservant) no woman in the story is mentioned as the wife of so and so by using the term *vadhū*.

The words *dayita* and *dayitā* which occur in classical literature as substantives in the sense of the beloved or husband and wife⁴ are used in the critical text as adjectives only. Only in one place the word *dayitā* may be translated to mean wife but for the particular verse it is not necessary as it can be equally easily taken as an adjective of the substantive *mātṛ* following it. The verse is given below.

vākyam āha narādhipaḥ..... |

pāñcālar:jo *dayitām* m'atnam vai Śikhaṇḍināḥ || 5.191.12.

"The king of Pāñcāla said to the beloved mother of Śikhaṇḍin" (it may also be translated as—said to his beloved, the mother of Śikhaṇḍin).

Co-wife.

The co-wife is called *sapatni*. *Sapatnatā* or *sāpatnaka* is originally any relationship which involves rivalry owing to being step-brothers or co-wives but may be used generally for rivalry. *Sapatna* is a rival, *asapatna* is a man or a thing without rival and these two expressions are used without any kinship connotation.

Pāñḍuuvāca iyam te *sapatny* anapalyā || 1.90.70.

"Pāñḍu said (to Kuntī), "here is your co-wife childless"

kanyāpitṛtvāt kiñcit tu vakṣyāmi bharatarabha |

balacatsapatnāṅāṃ atra daṣaṇi paśyāmi kevalam || 1.94.74.

"Being the father of a daughter I wish to speak something, O bull among Bharatas. In this (alliance) the only fault I see is the rivalry with a powerful one." (Bhīṣma is feared as the powerful step brother of the future children to be born of Satyawatī and Śantanu).

na stūṇi vidyate kiñcid anyatra puruṣāntarāt |

sāpatnakaṃ ēte loka bhavitavyam hi tattathā || 1.224.26.

4. Devayānīm ca *dayitām* *sūām* tasya mahātmanāḥ || 1.71.13

'Devayānī, the beloved daughter of the great Guru'

Dulitur nāpriyam soḥam iktāham *dayitā* hi me || 1.75.8

'I am not able to bear any harm done to my daughter, as I love her dearly.'

"In this world there is nothing else for women but to accept the position of a *co-wife* unless they choose to go to another man. That is destiny."

āśāmsate Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya putro |
mahārājyan asapatnīm prthivyām || 5.90.22.

"Dhṛtarāṣṭra's son desires to have unrivalled rule over this earth."

asvaje cāvadat pitṛi nīhapatnī'etu te patib ||

"She embraced her and said 'May your husband be without rivals'."

A woman who has been betrothed to another is called *anyapūrvā* or *parapūrvā* it being implied that such a woman has had access to another man. The princess Ambā is refused as *anyapūrvā* or *parapūrvā* both by Bhīṣma and Saubha Śālva.

tām abravīt Śālvapatiḥ smayati iva viśāṁ pate |
tvyā'nyapūrvāyā nāham bhāryā'ṛthi varavarnini || 5.172.4.

"The king of Śālvas as if smiling said to her, 'O beautiful lady, I do not wish to have as wife you, who have belonged to another'."

katham asmadvidho rājā parapūrvām praveśayet || 5.172.7.

"How can a king like me, admit a woman who belonged to another?"

BROTHER'S WIFE.

Brother's wife (man speaking) is mentioned by the descriptive term *bhrātṛdāra* or is called *bhrātur bhāryā*.

yavīyasas tava bhrāturbhārye sumatopane || 1.99.34

"There are these two wives of heavenly beauty, of your younger brother."

uyācam bhrātṛdāreṣu tadā Vyāsaṁ mahāmunim || 5.145.34.

"I begged the favour of the great sage Vyāsa for my brother's wives."

The word *dāra* which is always used in plural is used once in the dual in the text.

dṛṣṭvayor yasya cānyena nīgatahprājñamāninaḥ |
tava jñāny apatyāni sejanūcarite pathi || 2.36.23.

The word *jñātibhāryā* occurs once and means the wife of an agnate relation. The position of a *jñātibhāryā* is fixed. She is wife of one, can act as wife of certain others—is mother to some, daughter-in-law to others. She cannot be degraded the way Draupadī was degraded.

knā cānyo jñātibhāryā vai viprakartum tathārhati |
ānya ca sabbhām vaktum yathoktā Draupadī tvaya || 5.126.28.

"Who but you could have insulted and wronged the wife of an agnate relative in the way you did by bringing Draupadī in the open assembly, and by speaking to her as you did."

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW.

The daughter-in-law is called *vadhū* and *snuṣā*. In more than one passage she is equated to the daughter. Son's wife and brother's son's wife are called by the word *vadhū* or *snuṣā*. Even more distant cousin's sons' wives are termed daughters-in-law. And so the word is used in a classificatory sense.

yathā ca tvābhinandāmi vadhū adya kṛānmasāmvṛtām |
tathā bhūyo'bhinandiye sūtaputrām guṇānvitām || 1.191.12

"O daughter-in-law, as I am congratulating and blessing you in these your rich marriage dress, so may I once again congratulate you as the virtuous mother of sons." (Kuntī addressing Draupadī).

vadhūvāt hi vidīṣṭā me tvām dharmaparamā satī || 2.63.27

"You who act according to dharma distinguish yourself among my daughters-in-law." (Dhṛtarāṣṭra says this to the wife of his brother's sons).

tipṭhanti ce me kuravaḥ sabbhāyām iṣṭhā sūtānām ca tathā snuṣṭṭvām || 2.60.45

"In this assembly are the Kuru men, masters over their sons and daughters-in-law" (Draupadī is here addressing all the elder generation of Kurus as her fathers-in-law).

tvām hi sarvasnuṣṭvām me śreyasī dharmacārini || 2.63.36.

"You who act according to Dharma are the best among my daughters-in-law" (Dhṛtarāṣṭra says this to Draupadī, the wife of his brother's sons).

In the following passages the daughter-in-law is placed in the same category as the daughter. The daughter-in-law is addressed as *putri* (cf. above) as we have already seen.

nṛṣyante kunavaś ceme manye kālasya parivayam |
vayānī duhitarāṁ caiva kṛṣyamāṇāṁ anarhatīm || 2.627

"I consider this as a sign of (decadent) times that the men of the Kuru race allow their daughter-in-law who is like a daughter, to be harrassed when she is innocent."

māpya dakṣiṇam ūruṁ me tvam āśīṣṭa varṇigane |
apatyānāṁ suvṛṇāṁ ca bhīru vidhṛy etad asanam || 1.92.9

"O beautiful woman, you have come and taken possession of my right thigh. That is the place for children (sons and daughters) and the daughters-in-law."

The word *pra-snuṣā* occurs once and means wives of grand-sons or great-grandsons.

snuṣā ca pramāṇā caiva Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya saṁgatāḥ |
hataśvaraḥ hataśulāḥ hatañjhaś ca. .. || 5.139.50.

"The daughters-in-law and the grand-daughters-in-law of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, their masters and husbands and sons having been killed (weeping with Gāndhārī).

SON-IN-LAW.

The son-in-law is called *jāmātṛ*.

sa ca maṇḍūkaraḥ jāmāṭaram auvāṇāpya yathigatam agacchat || 2.100.42.

"The frog king took his leave of his son-in-law and went the way he had come."

BROTHER OF HUSBAND OR WIFE.

Husband's brother is *devr* and wife's brother is *śyāla* or *syāla*.

ity ukṭā sū prasadatī paryāśāṅkata devaram |
hata vai strīsvabhāvena śuddhacāritṛyabhāṣaṇam || 3.262.25

"When spoken to thus she wept loudly and being overcome by the faults (like small mindedness etc.) inherent in feminine nature began to suspect her virtuous brother-in-law."

yo 'yam rājño Virāṭasya Kīcako nāma Bhārata |

śēhānī puruṣavyāghra sṛṅṅlaḥ paramadurmatih || 4.17.7

"O Bhārata, tiger among men! This Kīcaka who is the head of Virāṭa's armies and who is also his brother-in-law" (said to me, "be my wife").

Certain kinship terms denote a whole class of relations. There are *guru*, *bandhu*, *bāndhava*, *jñāti*, *sambandhin*, *janya* and *āpta*.

Guru is not a kinship term in its usual meaning, which is "the teacher or preceptor" but it is often times used to denote all people or any person older than oneself in the immediate family circle. Thus an elder brother is a *guru* to a younger brother. The father-in-law, the mother-in-law, the wives of the elder brothers-in-law, the father, the mother etc. are all regarded and referred to as *guru*.

guror anupraveśo hi nopaghāto yavīyasab |

yavīyaso'nupraveśo jyeṣṭhasya vidhiloṣakah || 1.205.27

"Entry of a younger after the elder is not censurable, while entry of the older after the younger is a breach of duty on the part of the older."

guravat pūjyaśmṛṇa kṛmā cit kṛmā cit vyaśyavat |

kṛmā cid abhynvadat premapā kṛmā cid apy abhivādhata || 1.213.39.

"He greeted some with greetings worthy of elders—greeted others as contemporaries, bowed to some with love and revered in turn by some."

kṣāntam eva mayā rājou gurur aśḥ paramo bhavān | 3.7.21.

"O king! I have already forgiven you. You are our highest Guru." (You are the eldest of us all).

Ime sabhāyām upadiṣṭasātrāṇi |

gurusthānāṇi guravaś caiva sarve |

teṣāṃ agre notāhe sthātum eva || 2.60.29.

"I fear to stand in front of all those elders versed in the traditional lore—all these elderly relatives who are sitting in the assembly."

Dhṛtarāṣṭraśramapadaṁ Vidura⁴ ca jagṛma ha 1.2.212.

yaṁ dṛṣṭvā prasthitaṁ sādhvī Pṛthvī anyanyam tadā

putrāṅgīyam parityajya gurukṣṭrāṇaṁ ratā 1.2.213.

"Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Vidura went to the forest. Seeing this the good Kuntī always bent on serving the elders, followed them, leaving the kingdom of her sons."

prayatnē ca gurū vṛddhaṁ śuśrūṣe'haṁ divijottama 3.198.20.

'O best of Brahmins, I make every effort to serve my two old gurus (parents).'

bhartāro vaśaṁ mahyaṁ gurukṣṭrāṇaṁ ca 3.222.37.

nityam āryaṁ aham Kuntīṁ...svayaṁ paricārāmy ekā 3.222.38.

"My husbands abide by my will because I always serve the elders of the family. I myself without any help attend to the wants of the revered mother-in-law Kuntī."

mama bhāryā tava gurur itī Sunda'bhyaḥbhāṣata

mama bhāryā tava vadhūr Upasunda'bhyaḥbhāṣata 1.204.16.

Sunda said, "She is my wife and your *guru* (to be revered as an elder)." Upasunda replied, "She is my wife and therefore your daughter-in-law."

The words *bandhu* and *bāndhava* are generally used in plural and where they are used in singular they are often times used in a collective sense. They both mean "a relative" either on the mother's side or father's side. They refer to any person who is in any way related in a bilateral family.

In some passages the word *bandhu* may be construed to mean friend, but as all friends were bound by ties of relationship ultimately a friend meant a relation. On the other hand in certain passages *bandhu* is distinguished from friend as a mere relative.

ātmaiva hy ātmano bandhū ātmaiva ripur ātmanah 5.34.62.

One self is one's own kin and one's own enemy.

yadi ced apy asaṁbandho mitrabhāvena vartate

sa eva bandhus tan mitraṁ sū gatiḥ tat parītyajam 5.36.35.

"He who acts like a friend even when unrelated, is a real kin, a real friend, is the refuge and highest good."

śrutvaiva tat karma niyantrum ātmā śakyaś tvayā vai saha *bāndhava* 5.61.8.

(Bhīṣma to Karṇa). "On even hearing of that deed you should with your kin (friends ?) restrain in yourself."

aho! bhakaraṁ dīnam alpajīvanam alpakam
nedṣmā bandhum āśēdya *bāndhavāḥ* sukheṣu edhate 5.131.25

"The kindred do not get any happiness through a relation or through relations who are satisfied with small things, who live petty lives and are mean and petty."

Karṇo voikartanaś tava mantriṁ netā ca *bandhūś* ca 5.165.4

"Karṇa, the son of Vikartana, is your adviser, leader and kin (Genosse)."

tiṣṭhate hi suhṛd yatra na *bandhus* tatra tiṣṭhati 5.104.6

"A friend stands by you in situations where a kindred turns away."

....tathā *bandhumatām* api vidhuvānāṁ ca vittāni harisyantiha mēnavāḥ 3.188.30.

"Also, people will rob the money of even those widows who have kindred."

sarve te priyam icchanti *bāndhavāḥ* sahasrājayaiḥ 3.36.15

'All your kin together with Śrījayas wish well of you.'

na tasyāśivo na ca ratho na bhṛtā na ca *bāndhavāḥ*
vane nivasatā rājan āśyante sma kadācana 3.49.41

"To him living in the forest were not left (he was not allowed to have) the horse, the chariot, the brother or the kinsmen."

The words *bāndhu* and *bāndhava* are well illustrated in the following verses from the Adiparvan, 145th Chapter.

yatitām vai mayā pūrvam yathā tvam vettha brāhmaṇi
yathā kṣemaṁ tato gantum tvayā nu mam na śrutam 26

iha jīta vīryddhīśmi pitṛ ceha mameti ca
uktavaty aśi durmedhe yācyamānā mayāśakṛt 27

svargato hi pitā viddhau tatthā nātē ciraṁ kava

bāndhavaḥ bhūtipūrvāś a tatra vāc tu kā tatib 28

so'yañ te bandhukāntiṣā aśṛvanto vaco nana

bandhupraṇāśaḥ saṁprēpto bhyaśau duḥkhaḥkaro matna 29

athavā madvināśo'yañ na hi śakyañi kamcana

parityaktum ahañ bandhūñ svayañ jīvan nīśaṁsavat 30

parityaktūñ na śakyañi bhāryāñ.... 33.

kuta eva parityaktūñ sulzñ śakyañy ahañ....34

"O wife, you know how I had tried formerly to go to a safer place. But you, oh foolish one : when I begged you to leave said that you were born and brought up here and that your father also lived here. Now since long have your parents died. What joy is there in living in a place where tho kin (bāndhava, here father and mother) had formerly been. You who had loved the kindred (bandhu-kāma) so much are now faced with utter destruction of your kindred (bandhu prañāśa). Or rather it is my own end for I can never give up my kindred, keeping myself alive like a heartless person. How can I give up my wife or how is it possible for me to abandon my daughter ? The father, the mother, the wife and the daughter are here mentioned as bandhus and bāndhaves."

ime vai bandhucāyādāḥ ṣaṭ putrā dharmadarśiṇe

ṣaḍ evābandhucāyādāḥ putrāś teñ śṛṇu me pṛthe 1.111.27

"O Pṛthā, listen to me. These six are known according to dharma books to be sons who are both bandhus and dāyādas ; while there are six other sons which are neither bandhu nor dāyāda " (for further discussion on this see part II of this paper).

Jñāti definitely shows agnatic relationship and includes all those who trace their descent from one male ancestor.

bhavanti bhedā jñātīnāñ kalahāś ca Vṛkodara

prasaktāñi ca vairāpi jñā jidharma na naḥyati 3.232..

yadā tu kaścid jñā jñāñ bāhyah pṛstahayate kulam

na marāyanti tat santo bāhyenābhiprasaṇaṁ 3.232.3.

The agnatic relations may differ and have quarrels or they may nurse long-standing feuds and yet the clan-ethics (or duty to clan) is not

destroyed. When one who is not an agnatic relation, challenges the family, that seizure is not brooked by good men.

dhūmāyante vyapetāni jvalanti sahitaⁿⁱ ca
Dhṛtarāṣṭraⁿⁱrolmukhāniva jñātayo bharatarabha 5.36.58

“O Dhṛtarāṣṭra, best among Bharatas, the agnatic relations are like sticks used for firebrand. They smoke when separated but burn clearly when bound together.”

mahān apy ekajo vṛkṣaḥ balavān supratisthitaḥ
prasahya eva vātena śākhāⁿⁱkandha^m vimarditum 3.35.60

atha ye sahitaⁿⁱ vṛkṣāḥ sa^mghaṣaṭaⁿⁱ supratisthitaⁿⁱ
te hi śighratamān vānān sa^mhanteⁿⁱnyonyasa^mśrayāt 5.36.61

anyonyasannipaⁿⁱṭṭhambhāⁿⁱd anyonyāpāśrayeṇa ca
jñātayaⁿⁱ sa^mpravardhanⁿⁱte saraśūⁿⁱpalāṇyⁿⁱ nta 5.36.63

“A mighty tree, deep-rooted, if standing alone can be destroyed by a stormy wind, but trees which stand well clustered can withstand even the strongest wind by sheltering one another. In the same way by mutual help and trust does a family (agnatic relationship) grow like lotuses in a pond.”

yo jñātī^m pratigrahaⁿⁱti daridra^m dīna^m ālurna^m
sa putrapasubhir vṛddhi^m yaśaś^m cāvya^mya^m aśnute 5.39.15

“He who supports a needy and a stricken agnatic relative becomes prosperous by getting sons and cattle and gains undying fame.”

vigraṣā hy api samrakṣyā jñātayo bharatarabha
kim punar guṇavantas te...prasādū^m kuru dūṣṇē^m Pāṇḍavānā^m 5.39.18.

“Agnatic relations must be protected even though undeserving of protection. The Pāṇḍavas are worthy and virtuous. Be good to the poor sons of Pāṇḍu.”

jñātībhir^m vigrhasa^m lāta^m na kartavyo bhavārthina^m
sukhāni saha bhojyāni jñātībhir^m bharatarabha 5.39.21

“One, wishing for the goods of this earth should not fall out with his agnatic relations. All the happiness of this earth must be shared with ones kin.”

yaś^m cānyo jñātībhirg^myā^m vai viprakartu^m tathārhati
ānyā ca sa^mhā^m vaktu^m yathekā^m draupadī tva^myā 5.126.8

"Who else would insult the wife of an agnatic relation as has done by bringing Draupadī in the open assembly and by speaking to her as he did?"

tvatto hy apatyabhabhena *jñātīnām* me śivam bhavet | 1.43.35

"My family (agnatic clan) will be blessed by getting an offspring from you."

uttīṣṭha bhadre Sarmisṭhe *jñātīnām* sukham āvaha || 1.75.16

"Get up, good Sarmisṭha and work for the good of your kindred."

tato dadau Vāsudevo janyārthe dhanam ultamam |

harapam vai Subhadrayāḥ *jñātīdeyaṁ* mahāyāśaḥ || 1.213.40

"Then Vāsudeva gave as dowry for Subhadrā a lot of money dowry which is to be given by agnatic relations."

jñālayo yasya niva syu viśamāḥ kulapāmanāḥ |

sa jīvet suśukham loka grāme druma ivaikajaḥ || 1.138.24

eko vṛkṣo hi yo grāme bhavet pariphalānvitaḥ |

cailyo bhavati *nirjñātir* arcanīyaḥ sūpajitaḥ || 1.138.25

eśān ca bahavaḥ śūrā *jñālayo* dharmasamśritaḥ |

te jīvanti sukham loka bhavanti ca nirāmayāḥ || 1.138.26

...jīventy anyonyam śrītya drumāḥ kānaroja iva || 1.138.27

'One, who has no enemical kin, who are a blot to the family, may hope to live happily, like an only tree in a village. An only tree full of leaves and fruit and without rival kindred is worshipped as a fetish. Those also who have many agnates abiding by the family law, and who are valorous, they also live happily and unafraid in this world, like forest trees which live by mutual support.'

Jñāti are the living kin. Nowhere are dead ancestors mentioned as *Jñātis* of the living. That the reference is always to the living agnatic kin is made clear in the following:—

jñātīḥ suhṛt avajano yo yethola |

kṛpē vitte tyajate mānavair hi |

tathā tarta kṛpapunyam manuṣyaṁ |

tyajanti sadyaḥ sevārā devasamghāḥ | 1.85.2,

'Just as on this earth, the kindred and the friend abandon a man when he loses his wealth, so in heaven the host of gods abandon him who loses his merit.'

dharmanityah sadā pāṇḍur mamāṣīt piyākṛd dhātā |
sarveṣu jñātsu tathā mayi tv āsīt vijēśataḥ || 1.130.2

'Please give a second king for the line of the Kurus, a king who will multiply the line of his ancestors and who will protect the line of his kindreds.'

jñātvānāsya goptāram pitṛān vamsāvardhanam |
dviṭyaṁ kuruvānāsya rājānam dātum arhasi || 1.100.12.

'Pāṇḍu always abided by Dharma, cared for the well being of his kindred and was particularly attentive to my needs.'

rājā rājāḥ katham sādhuḥ hitvān n'patisattama |
tadrājāḥ samnigṛhya tvam rudrāyopajihṛṣasi |
te tvān jñātkṣayakaram vayan ārtānusūriṇaḥ |
jñātviddhi-nimittārtham viniyantum ihgatāḥ | 2.20.8,12

"O best of kings, how can a king kill other kings? You have imprisoned kings and wish to offer them as sacrifice to Rudra. You are thus destroying your kindred (the kṣatriyas as children of Manu are thought of as kin) and we wishing to protect the oppressed, and wishing the prosperity of the kindred have come to prevent your action.'

Sambandhin means a person related by marriage.

dūtaś ca hi hṛṣīkeśaḥ sambandhiś ca priyaś ca naḥ | 5.86.17

'Hṛṣīkeśa has come as a messenger, he is related to us by marriage and is dear to us' (Dhṛtarāṣṭra to Duryodhana).

Śiśupālasuto vīraś cedirājo mahārathab |
Dhṛṣṭaketuḥ sambandhiḥ....Pāṇḍavasya ha || 5.168.3

Dhṛṣṭaketu, the son of Śiśupāla, and the king of Cedi is a great charioteer and is related by marriage to the Pāṇḍavas.

ukto mayā Vāsudevaḥ punaḥ punar upahvare |
sambandhiḥ samān vṛttim vartasva Madhusūdana || 5.154.27

Belarāma says :—I have told Vāsudeva again and again that he should maintain a position of neutrality towards (quarreling) clans who are related to us by marriage.

Vīṣṭadrupadāv ubhau...yatīsyeto param śaktayā....

sambandhakeṇa rājendra | 5.167.7—10.

'King of kings ! Virāṭa and Drupada will fight with all their might, as they are related by marriage (to the Pāṇḍavas)'

sambandhibhāvān rakṣantaḥ mahat karma karisyataḥ | 5.167.13.

'They having regard to their connection (by marriage) will do deeds of valour.'

katham sambandhinā sārddham na me syād vighraho mahān |

iti śancintya manasā dāivatāny arcayat tadā || 5.192.9

'He worshipped various gods trying to find means so as to avoid enmity with the clan connected with him by marriage' (Drupada and Śikhandin's father-in-law are referred to here.)

evam veyam Jarāsaṁdhīrūtaḥ kṛtakṛtibīṣaḥ |

sāmāthyavantaḥ sambandhīd bhavantaḥ samupāśritaḥ || 2.13.53

'So we, injured by Jarāsaṁdha, becoming powerful have sought your alliance as you are connected with us (through wars.) Kṛṣṇa talking to Dharmarāja.'

The word *janya* is used for marriage guests, especially the relatives of of the bride-groom.

Kānyakubje vai dadau Satyavatīn tadā |

tato Gādhiḥ sutam tasmai janyāḥ pāśan surāś tadā || 3.115.17

'Then in the city of Kānyakubja, Gādhi gave him his daughter. At that marriage, the gods came as the kin of the bridegroom.'

tato dadau Vāsudevo janyārthe dhanam uttamam |

harapam vai Subhadrāyāḥ jñātideya mahayasaḥ || 1.213.40.

'Then Vāsudeva gave that which is to be given by the agnates of the bride to the bridegroom's people plenty of money, the dowry of Subhadrā.'

Dūta uvāca :

janyārtham annam Drupadena rājñā |

vivāhahetor upasamskṛtām ca |

tadāpnuvadhvam kṛtasarvakāryā |

Kṛpā ca tattraiva cinam na kāryam || 1.186.1

10-11 Bk Y 62—12a

'The messenger said, "King Drupada has prepared a feast for the bridegroom's party. Enjoy it and do not let Kṛṣṇā remain long at your house."

tato rājā yājñāsenah saputro |
januṣṭhityuktam bahu tat tad agrayam |
samjñayāmāsa sutam ca kṛṣṇam
āplāvya ratnatr bahubhir vibhūṣaya 1.190.6

'The king Yājñasena with his sons brought the best of everything as the gift for the bridegroom. And brought also his daughter after adorning her with precious jewels.'

The word *āpta* is not a kinship term. It is used for people who are loyal and trusted and is used of spics who generate trust in others and can thus know the secret of others, or do harm to them. Sañjaya is once called *āpta*. Vidura is called *āptatama* (the most trusted) but nowhere has the term any definite kinship connotation as it can be equally well translated by the word trustworthy. The word *anāpta* is used of one who cannot or should not be trusted.

suhṛdīm yatamānānām āptaiḥ saha cikitsikaiḥ |
jagāmāstam... || 1.96.58.

'He died in spite of all the efforts of his friends, working with the help of trusted doctors.'

kṛtām hi vyaktam āgneyam idam veśma vo |
śilpiḥṣiḥ sukṛtām hy āptatḥ..... || 1.134.14 and 15.

'This house seems to be made of combustible material by the help of trusted carpenters.'

anāptair dattam ādatte naraḥ śaṣṭram lohajam |
śvāvic charapam āśḍya pramucyeta hutāśenāt || 1.133.22
tato rājānām caśair āptais cāreḥ samupanīyata || 1.192.1

Then news was brought by the kings trusted messengers.'

adya tān kuśalair vipraiḥ sukṣṭair āptakūṛibhiḥ |
Kuntīputrān bhedyāmo || 1.193.4

Now we shall try to divide the sons of Kuntī by employing clever trustworthy spies.

te loptrebhūraiḥ saṁdhyā vadhyantām āptakūṛibhiḥ | 1.193.16

"They should be killed through some trustworthy members of the thieving profession."

anāptaḥ sann āptatamasya vīcam |
Suyodhano Vidurasyāvananya |
sūtasya rājā Dhṛtarāṣṭraḥ priyaśi |
saṁbuddhyamāno viāte dharmam eva || 5.26.11

"Himself unreliable and paying no heed to the words of the most trustworthy Vidura the good-fighting King Dhṛtarāṣṭra is doing wrong, though otherwise exhorted in the interest of his son."

Yudhiṣṭhira uvāca : āpto dātāḥ Saṁjaya supriyo'si || 5.30.4

"Saṁjaya you are a loyal messenger and dear to us."

anāptānām pragrahāt tvam narendra |
tathāptānān nigrhāṣ caiva rājan |
bhūnaim sphīlīm durbalatvād anantām |
na śaktas tvam rakṣituṁ Kauraveya || 5.32.29

"O Kaurava give, you cannot retain this prosperous kingdom as you have weakened yourself by accepting the alliance of untrustworthy (can also be translated as not kin) men and by casting away the loyal ones."

Vāṛṣṇeyam ānayaṁśa puruṣair āptakūṁbhīḥ || 3.57.10.

"She caused Vāṛṣṇeya to be brought to her through trusted messengers."

There are certain other terms which are used to denote a family, a household, a patriarchal line etc. Their connotation must be fixed from the context in which they occur in the critical text. These words are :—

kuṭumba, kula, gotra, varṣa, anvaya, anvavāya.

From the following it will be evident that *kuṭumba* is the immediate household and *kuṭumbinī* is the housewife :—

atho kaṁvāt Saṁjaya Pāṇḍavasya |
utsāhinaḥ pūṇyataḥ svalakṛmā |
yathākhyātam āvasataḥ kuṭumbam |
purakalpāt sādhu vilopam āttha || 5.29.4

'O Saṁjaya on what grounds do you assert that the Pāṇḍavas have failed in the traditional duty—Pāṇḍavas who carried household according to custom and who abided by their traditional duties.'

yadā pravasate bhartā *kuṭumbārthena* kenacit |
sumanovarpakāpetū bhavāmi vratacārīṇī || 3.222.29.

'When my husband is away on travel on some matter concerning the family, then I live like an ascetic without flowers and rouge.'

ye ca dbarmāḥ *kuṭumbesu* évaśvā me kothitāḥ purā |
bhikṣābalakāśāddham iti athāśīpākās ca parvasu |
mānyānām mānasatkāra ye cānye viditā mayā ||
tān sarvān anuvartāmi divācāram atandritā || 3.222.32 and 33

'All the formalities which are traditional to this house like giving of alms, giving of bali, making funeral oblations and carrying out the sthālipaka sacrifice as also the paying of honour to certain revered persons, and all customs told to me by my mother-in-law all these I conform to without fail, day and night.'

mayi sarvān samāśraya *kuṭumbān* bhārataraṭabbhāḥ |
upāsānaratāḥ sarve ghaṭante sma || 3.222.52.

'Consigning the whole family to my care, my husband's care, only for the worship of gods.'

Kula originally means a household. It is however used frequently in an extended sense to mean the family living in one household. It also means the whole family including its living and dead members. It seems to have reference to the agnatic relationship when one spoke of one's *kula* but is used with reference to mother's and maternal uncle's family as the word *jñāti* never is.

ekakālan caran bhāikṣyam *kuṭūni* dve ca pañca ca |
asaṁbhava vē bhāikṣyasya carannan aśnōṇy api | 1.110.12

'I shall live by begging only once a day at seven houses and if I should not obtain any alms living without food.'

grāme śucīni pracaran *kuṭūni* bhārataraṭabbha |
pravīṣtas tat kulān yatra pūrvam caritavāms tu saḥ || 3.197.7

'King of Bharatas! he was in the habit of begging alms at respectable houses in the town. He entered the house which he had often visited.'

tato rājakuladvāryā prasaupam iva tam nṛpaṁ |
rātrau parāṣeṣeṣa utsṛjya nīcākramat arimdamāb || 2.22.10.

'The killers of enemy went out, of the city leaving the dead king as if sleeping, at the door of the palace (king's house).'

tau sametya mahārāja KuruCedivṛṣau tadā |
nibhaya ātmakulajāb kausalyaṁ paryapṛcchatām || 2.26.13.

'The kings of Kuru and Cedi met each other and asked after the health of each others families.'

Duryodhanena yady etat pāpaṁ teṣu purā kṛtam |
tvayā kulavṛddhena pratyāneyaṁ nareśvara || 5.39.29

'O King, you are the eldest of your clan (family) did not right the wrong which Duryodhana had inflicted on them.'

kulāni samupetāni gobhīḥ puruṣato'śvatab |
kulasaṁkhyān na gacchanti yāni hīnāni vṛttatab |
vṛttatas tv avihīnāni kulāṇy alpadhanāny api |
kulasaṁkhyān tu gacchanti kṛṣaṇit ca mahad yasaḥ | 5.36.28 and 29

'Those families which are of low moral character, never multiply, even though they possess, cattle, horses and men. But families of a high moral character though possessing but small fortunes, are multiplied and gain great fame.'

aṣṭau guṇāḥ puruṣaṁ dīpayanti |
prajñā ca kṛtṛyaṁ ca damaḥ śrutam ca || 5.35.45.

'Eight things make a man shine—wisdom, birth in a good family, self-control and learning etc.'

Such terms as *mātṛ-kula* (the mother's house-family), the *pitṛ-kula* (father's family), *mātulakula* (the maternal uncle's family), and *Vṛṣṇi-kula*—the Vṛṣṇi line, *Bhṛgu-kula*, the Bhṛgu line occur also. These various usages show that word *kula* is applied to the family and includes the dead as well as the living members of the same. Just as

one uses English terms like the house of Tudor, the house of Windsor etc., so the expressions like *Vṛṣṇīkula* must be interpreted.⁵

The word *gotra* appears but very rarely and its exact significance cannot be determined from the contexts in which it occurs. It may mean family or household.

etāvat Pāṇḍavānām hi nāsti kiñcid iha svakam |

nāmadhṛyaṁ ca gotraṁ ca tad apy eṣām na āśyate || 5.71.15

'Not even this much is in this world that belongs to the Pāṇḍavas. Not even their name and Gotra remain to them.'

The word *vaṁśa* occurs often and can be best translated by the English word line. Ailavaṁśasya mean the kings born in the line of Ilā ; Ikṣvāku vaṁśasya mean the kings born in the line of Ikṣvāku. The word *vaṁśa* seems to have reference to the linear arrangement of a family shown in geneological tables. There are many men born in a *kula*—the ruling man and those whom he succeeded as also those succeed him, form the *vaṁśa*. In two places the word *vaṁśa* is compounded with *kula* to mean the line of kings upholding the name of a certain family. It must however be noted that words like *kulaḥara* and *vaṁśaḥara* seem to have the same sense where *kula* is used as a synonym of *vaṁśa*, both the expressions meaning "one who gives his name to a line or a family". The expressions may also mean simply the continuer or upholder of the line.

mayā tu rakṣitavyeyaṁ purī bharatasattama |

yāvad rāṣṭro'sya nīlasya kulavaṁśadharā itī || 2.28.34

'O best of Bharatas, I must guard this city as long as there are reigning kings of the line of Nīla.'

na ca vaṁśaḥaras putras tasyājyāta kaścana | 2.16.20.

'To him was not born a son who could uphold his line.'

eko vaṁśadharo'stū śūra ekasyām sambhaviṣyati || 3.104.15

'To one (of your queens) shall be born only one brave son who shall continue the line.'

Pāñcājanasya śruto veda pañcavaṁśaḥaras tu saḥ | 3.104.5

⁵ The Marāṭhi word *ghara* means a household just as *kula* does while *sharāṇe* means a family or a line.

In the Vedas he is known as Pāñcājanya and is the founder of five lines.

avarṇakṛīṇān̄ satsu kulavāṁśasya n̄śānam
kalim̄ putrapravādena Samājya tvān̄ ajūjanam 5.11.27

'Through you who are the doer of infamous deeds, the destroyer of the family and the line, I have given birth to Kali, in the guise of a son.'

vāṁśamūlakam̄ āśādyā tīrthasevī kurūdvahm
svavāṁśam̄ uddhared rājan̄ an̄ātyā vāj vāṁśamūlaka 3.81.34

'O best of Kurus, who art fond of pilgrimage, go to Vāṁśamūlaka because by bathing there one uplifts one's vāṁśa.' (In this verse is made clear the analogy between a Bamboo which grows in a linear direction by adding one nodule to another and a human pedigree which runs from father to son. Vāṁśamūlaka must have been a bamboo thicket growing near a river and by bathing near the roots of this thicket one secured the growth of one's family, and the continuity of one's line of succession-- (obviously a piece of sympathetic magic).

The words *anvaya* and *anvavāya* refer to single lines of succession. At two places in the Āraṇyaka Parvan the word stands for a "son" as one who succeeds, though this usage is peculiar.

Cyavasyānvaye jātāḥ khyāto vedavidāṁ varāḥ 1.48.5

'Born in the line of Cyavana, famous and best among the knowers of Vedas.'

Agnir āgrayaṇo n̄āna bhānor evānvayas tu sah̄ 3.211.13

'The Āgrayaṇa fire is the son of Bhānu.'

caturbhiḥ sehitāḥ putraiḥ bhānor evānvayas tu sah̄ 3.211.14

'He, the son of Bhānu, with his four sons.'

astī somānvaye na jātāḥ kaścin n̄pātī sakhā 5.112.6

'In the line of Soma is a king who is my friend.'

SUMMARY.

(a) (i) In the parent's generation distinct kinship terms of designatory (like *mātula* mother's brother) or descriptive (*pītuḥ svasar* father's sister)

type exist for mother's brother, mother's sister and father's sister.

(b) No separate term exists for father's brother. He is everywhere addressed as father or younger father. Mother's sister is also called mother once.

(ii) In the ego's generation no term exists for children of mother's brother, father's sister or mother's sister and for father's brother's children. All these are called brother and sister. Thus the concept of cousinship is entirely absent⁶. In the son's generation no terms other than son exist for brother's son (man speaking while a separate term *vasrīya* is used to designate a sister's son (man speaking)).

(iii) The term brother covers the following relations : own brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, mother's sister's son, father's father's (grandfather's) brother's son's son, father's father's father's (great-grandfather's) brother's son's son's son.

(iv) The term father covers the following relations : father, father's elder and younger brothers—all father's cousins of the father.

(v) The term mother is used for own mother, mother's co-wives, mother's sisters, father's brother's wives, father's cousin's wives.

(vi) The terms daughter and sister were very probably used in the same way as the terms son and brother but the epic data have not yielded any examples (except one cf. above) of such usage as references to women relatives are very rare.

(vii) The term son covers the following relations : own son and cousin's son.

⁶ In modern times, in the countries to the south of Nerbada, the practice of cross-cousin marriage is widely prevalent. The parallel cousins are placed on a par with one's own brothers and sisters and are termed just 'brothers and sisters.' The cross-cousins however receive special kinship-terms and the term may, as in Mniathi bring out their function, as marriage-mates. It often happens that a south Indian reserves the English term 'cousin' for a cross-cousin and refers to a parallel cousin as a cousin-brother or sister.

(viii) The term father-in-law is applied to husband's father and to all cousins of husband's father as also to father's grandfather and all male relatives of that generation.

(ix) Mother-in-law stands for the own mother of the husband as also all the wives of the cousins of the father of the husband.

(x) The daughter-in-law is the wife of the son as also the wife of the cousin's son.

(xi) Terms exist for great-grandfather on the one hand and great-grandson on the other. Thus seven men, three above and three below the generation of the ego, formed a closely knit, well recognised unit. All these might have lived contemporaneously in a joint household. References show that one's good deeds benefitted ancestors removed by seven degrees from the doer of the deeds. (*āsaptam kulaṁ punāti*—*Āraṇyaka Parvan*).

(xii) It is a system of terminology in which male relations are recognised far more fully than female relations and terms like father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter-in-law, father-in-law are used in a classificatory manner. In part II the kinship usages are discussed in order to find out whether custom and usage tallied with the classified classificatory use of certain terms. The structure of the kinship terminology leads us to infer the existence of a joint family of a patriarchal nature with levirate as its invariable concomitant. The following description of the family organisation of the epic will show how far the kinship usages were in consonance with the system of the kinship terminology discussed in this part.

PART II.

The whole of the epic is a family saga where the fortunes of a particular royal house have been traced in great detail for four generations. The problems dealt with are typical of a patriarchal joint family and are of perennial interest to all Hindus as the same problems are faced even today by many joint families in India. The dominant pattern is that of a patriarchal joint family but side by side with it and in constant contact with it is another type of family which is also represented in certain Indian provinces today.

The princes and kings who gathered together on the eve of battle were all connected with each other by the ties of blood, or the ties of marriage. Their relationship can be traced on a genealogical table. All these together formed a sort of a federation (*Bund*) of allied royal houses. They were *bandhus* and *sambandhins* of one another. They belonged to various related *kulas* or families. The *kulas* were made up of living and non-living members of a family and each *kula* was known by the names of its illustrious ancestors. The living members of a *kula* or a patriarchal clan were called *jñāti* while all those connected with a *jñāti* by marriage ties were called *sambandhins*. Within the *jñāti* or *kula* succession and inheritance was from father to the eldest son, the collateral line being ordinarily barred from succession. This mode of inheritance or succession from father to the eldest son and then to the eldest son's eldest son is followed in giving king's lists or *anvaya*, *anvavāya* or *anuvamśa*.

The relationship of father and son was so conceived that the living person of a *kula* was the physical counterpart of his father and so of all his ancestors. The continuation of a line was absolutely necessary for the ensuring of the regular feeding of the ancestors in heaven. As long as one remembered one's ancestors and cared for them on the day of the yearly *Śrāddha* so long did the ancestors remain in heaven. A man entering his wife is born through her again (1.68.36). This same concept is developed in the Mbh. into one of memory of the dead. As long as there is some one who remembers the dead so long may the dead live in heaven. Yayāti was pushed down from heaven because nobody remembered who he was. King Indradyumna who had fallen from heaven because nobody knew who he was, regained his lost heaven as soon as an aged tortoise remembered his name as an institutor of great sacrifices. (3.101). The original idea seems to be that as long as the line continued unbroken, and as long as ancestor-offerings were made, so long was heaven assured to the men of a family. Later on probably the idea came up that the same end could be achieved by making large religious gifts, by performing sacrifices and thus by getting the blessings of many, gain immortal fame here and eternal residence above. The patriarchal family owed its present existence and the status of its living members to the fact of these having certain common ancestors. This relation with the past was a physical bond, and was the prime sanction for present claims as will be seen later. Thus

the patriarchal family was firmly grounded in the line of its ancestors in as much as the ancestors and their status were a guarantee of the status of the present members. Mutual behaviour and the rights and duties of all the living members of this family were determined at the very birth of each member and the fate of the future generations was also more or less fixed by the predetermined position of the living members. The inheritance was generally held in common for the benefit of all; nominally the eldest male being in absolute authority. According to the best tradition the common property could be divided neither during the life-time of the father, nor after his death, although such a partition was not unknown. In *Ādi Parvan* is told the story of two brothers who, instead of living amicably together, wished to divide their patrimony. They died and were born as an elephant and an alligator fighting with each other and were ultimately both eaten by the divine eagle Garuḍa. (1.25.13). In the kingdom of Uparicara everything went on in the best traditional way and "the sons never desired a partition from their fathers" (1.57.10). When the kingdom was given to Pāṇḍu he also ruled in a beneficent way over all his agnatic relations and was specially kind to his brother Dhṛtarāṣṭra (1.130.2). Duryodhana envisaged a future in which he and his descendants would have to live as dependants of Pāṇḍavas, finding satisfaction in whatever food and clothing was given to them by the Pāṇḍavas (*te vayanṁ rājavamśena kṣāṇḥ saha sutair api... satatam nirayanṁ prāptāḥ parapiṇḍopajīvināḥ* 1.129.16 and 17). Thus one who succeeded to the office of the head of the family also held all the property, though it was held in order to enjoy it in common with all agnatic relations. The head of this family was the father of the family who had absolute power over all the members of his family. We have thus the joint family with the joint property, the succession and inheritance from father to eldest son and the absolute rule of the father. These three principles sometimes clashed and the problems arising out of the antagonism of these three principles of the family organisation were solved in various ways as the following examples will show.

When we read the kings' lists as given in the *Ādi Parvan* we notice that though the kings had more than one son the kingdom was generally inherited by the eldest son. Certain notable exceptions to this rule occur.

(a) The displeasure of the father was enough to deprive a son of his birth-right if the father was powerful enough. Bharata set aside his nine elder sons in favour of Bhumanyu (1.89.17 and 18).⁶ Yayāti set aside his elder sons and gave the kingdom to Puru, the youngest against the wishes of his subjects.

(b) If the eldest son had some physical or mental defect he was set aside in favour of the younger. Devāpi the eldest brother of Śantanu was deprived of his inheritance as he suffered from some skin-disease; (5.147.14 and 17) so also was Dhṛtarāṣṭra set aside in favour of Pāṇdu because he was born blind. (1.102.23). It was thought that gods did not tolerate a king who was physically defective (5.147.25). When a son was thus deprived of his inheritance the kingdom passed into the hands of a younger son and his descendants and did not as a rule revert to the descendants of the son who was deprived of his inheritance.

All the intrigues of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and his son Duryodhana were directed towards preventing the establishment of Pāṇdu's line. That when once deprived of the kingdom neither Dhṛtarāṣṭra nor his sons had any claim to the throne was fully realised by them as numerous passages show. Duryodhana himself says (1.129.12-17), "Pāṇdu got the kingdom from his father and you lost it owing to your defect. Now if Pāṇḍavas get this inheritance from Pāṇdu it is assured in their line from father to son and we deprived of the kingly line shall not be despised by all." Dhṛtarāṣṭra also asks his son how it would be possible to usurp the kingdom from Dharma who had got it from his father and grandfather (1.130.3 and 4). Gāndhārī stresses the same point (5.146.31 and 32). Especially significant is the expression, "how can you hope for a kingdom when I was without a share in it". (*mayyabhāgini rājyāya katham tvaṁ rājyam icchasi* 5.147.30).

Every time the eldest son was set aside there was some stir created. Yayāti had to give some plausible excuse for his high-handedness, and

⁶ *putrān dvādaśa yūnāha nṛṇāṁ soṅyastābhuvu manuḥ*
teṣāṁ śaś bandhudāyādāh śaś adāyādabāṇdhavāḥ 9'138.
aurasah kṣತ್ರāhas caiva dātāh kṣತ್ರma evaca
śuḥhoiparnno'paviddhas ca dāyādā bāṇdhavāḥ ca 9'159.
kāṇṇas ca sahodhas ca kṛtāh paurnabhuvas tathā
soṅyamadaitas ca saundras ca śaś adāyādabāṇdhavāḥ 9'160.

gave the border provinces to his other sons. Devāpi and his aged father died broken-hearted as the consequence of Devāpi not getting the kingdom and the Bhārtiya battle which destroyed almost the whole Kaurava clan was fought as the result of the setting aside of Dhṛtarāṣṭra in favour of Pāṇḍu. Powerful kings like Bharata and Sagara and Yayāti could carry out their wishes successfully, but the untimely death of Pāṇḍu far away from the capital left his children and widow at the mercy of collateral relations.

Certain behaviour patterns emerge out of the absolute power enjoyed by the father of the family. The father-son relationship is such that absolute obedience, respect and sacrifice is demanded by the father from his sons. In most of the stories in the critical edition this pattern is followed as in the cases of Puru, Rāma Dāśarathi, Bhīṣma and Jantu (sacrificed by the father). On the other hand setting aside an aged father or circumventing his wishes while paying him homage in words are also given as behaviour of a son who is a blot to his family. Such sons are the sons of Dirghatamas (1.98.18 and 19) and Duryodhana himself.

The husband-wife relationship is also one of obedience to and service of the husband by the wife. The highest praise to a woman is *patiloḥam vṛnoānā* 'choosing the fate of her husband'. Such women were Gāndhārī who bound her eyes when she heard that the husband chosen for her was blind, Mādrī who burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, Sītā, Draupadī, Damayantī and Sāvitrī who shared the exile of their husbands. In order to beget children as heirs to the husband women had to submit not only to the brother of their husband but to any brahmin appointed by their husband or the mother-in-law.

In this household the daughter's position was not at all enviable. She was freely employed for the sake of propitiating brahmins or for contracting political friendships. Kuntī describes how she was given away to king Kuntibhoja in her childhood and driven away by her father-in-law Bhīṣma. (I blame my father. He gave me to Kuntibhoja as a cunning man gives away wealth for his own purposes. As a small girl, playing with you with a ball was I handed over to Kuntibhoja. What is the use of this life to me who was so injured by the father and the fathers-in-law? (5.88.61-63). Ambā mourns in similar words *dhig*

Bhīṣmaṁ dhik ca me mṛṇḍoṁ pitarāṁ mūḍhacetusom/yeṇāhoṁ vīryaśulkeṇa potyastrīvat praveritā 5.173.5 "Woe to my father who disposed of me like an infamous woman by a bravery test" (The bravest may have my daughter). This exclamation also places the Svayamvara institute in its proper perspective. Except Damayantī and Sāvitrī no woman in the epic stories has had a free choice of mate. Draupadī was to be given to a man who proved himself to be superior to all others in archery and strength as Drupada wished to gain a powerful ally against Droṇa. Dharma tells as much to Drupada when he began anxiously to enquire after the social status of the hero who had won Draupadī.

pradiṣṭaśulkā Drupadeṇa yājñā sārṇa vīreṇa tathānuvṛtā
na tatra varṇeṣu kṛtā vivalokā na jīvaśilpe na kule na gotre. 1.185.23

King Drupada had set a definite test for this girl. She was won accordingly by this hero. No questions were asked about the caste, or the mode of living or the family or the name of the suitor. Mādhavī, the daughter of king Yayāti, was hawked from king to king for the sake of horses. Śarmiṣṭhā had to become the maid of Devayānī to save her father's clan. The daughters were thus nothing but pawns in the political game of alliances and counter-alliances. In the case of Bhadrā, the sister of Vāsudeva this is made very clear when Vāsudeva advises Arjuna his friend to abduct her, rather than take the chance of a Svayamvara ceremony where the foolish girl might fancy another man!

sa tvam Arjuna kalyāṇīm prasahya bhaginīm mama
hara svayamvara hy asyāḥ ko vai veda cikīrṣitam 1.211.23

No son is given to another in adoption in the stories of the Mahābhārata, while there is one case of a girl being given in adoption. The system of adoption of a son is so universal and well accepted in the Dharmaśāstras that the absence of even a single instance of an adoptive son requires careful examination into the concepts of son-ship and father-ship. In the Ādi Parvan at two places a list of different kinds of sons is given. The first is given by Śakuntalā (1.69.18) who quotes Manu as her authority and enumerates ten sons, five from own wife and five others (one who is found, bought, reared, adopted and begot on another's wife). Manu actually gives twelve kinds of sons and as Śakuntalā's enumeration is vague as regards the first five kinds of sons

it would be better to take Pāṇḍu's list who not only enumerates different kinds of sons but gives a definite order of descending merit or worth :

ime vai bandhudvīdāḥ saṭ putrā dharmaśūnava
 saḍ evābandhudvīdāḥ putrāś tān āṣṭu me prthe
 svayamjātaḥ prapītaś ca parikṛitaś ca yāḥ sūtaḥ
 paunarbhavaś ca kṛmīmaḥ svairiṇyān yaś ca jñāte
 dattāḥ kṛtāḥ kṛtinuś ca upagaccheḥ avayam ca yāḥ
 sahoḍho jātaretāś ca hīnayodidhātāś ca yāḥ 1.11.27-29

" In the code of Dharma six sons are mentioned as *bandhus* (kin) and inheritors while six others are mentioned who are neither *bandhus* (kin) nor inheritors. Of the first kind are own son, a son born to one's wife by somebody else to whom she is led, a son to one's wife by somebody who is paid for this service, the son of a remarried wife by her first husband, the son born to one's wife in her maidenhood and the son born out of free love (out of wedlock?)." In the latter variety may be included :

- (1) an adopted son—a son given in adoption by his parents,
- (2) a son bought from his parents,
- (3) one who is brought up as a son in the family perhaps an orphan,
- (4) one who has come of himself for protection,
- (5) wife's son who is of an adult age at the time of marriage, and
- (6) one who belongs to a low caste.

This list differs from the one given in Manu. Manu places the following among the first kind of sons :

- (1) a son born of oneself,
- (2) born on one's wife through another,
- (3) an adopted son—given in adoption by the parents of the boy,
- (4) one who is brought up in the household without any formal ceremony of adoption,
- (5) one who is born secretly—through a paramour to one's wife, and

(6) one who is rejected by his natural parents and adopted into one's household.

Of the six inferior varieties are :

- (1) one born to the wife in her maidenhood,
- (2) born to her at the time of her marriage,
- (3) bought,
- (4) the son of a remarried woman,
- (5) one who gives himself for adoption, and
- (6) one who is of a low caste.

In these two lists there are remarkable differences. In Pāṇḍu's list there is one principle for distinguishing the two kinds of sons. All sons born either to oneself or to one's wife are placed in one category, that of a *bandhu* (kin) and *dāyāda* (inheritors), while sons who have been bought etc. are placed in the other category. The adult *sahodha* though born to one's wife is rejected because as an adult he is generally recognised as another's son and the last one, though one's son, is rejected as belonging to low caste.

In Manu's list the adopted son and the orphan brought up in one's household are counted among the first six, and the son born to the wife as a maiden and the son of a remarried widow (her first husband's son ?) are rejected from the list.

If we turn from this theoretical list to the actual practice in the epic we find that Pāṇḍu's list is true to the usage depicted in Critical Edition while Manu's conception about sons is not borne out by the epic evidence.

Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāṣṭra are examples of *praviṭa* sons (called *kṣētraja* in Manu's list). An example for a *parikṛita* son is not found. Karna is a *kāṇina* son and could have got his share of Pāṇḍu's kingdom if he had so chosen as is clear from Kṛṣṇa's speech in which he asks Karna to join the Pāṇḍavas. Aṅgada is the *paunarbhava* son of Sugrīva. And Bhīṣma may be given as an example of a son born of a *Svairiṇī*, Gaṅgā came of her own accord to Śantanu, lived with him without marriage as long as she chose, and deserted him at her sweet will. She was thus a *svairiṇī* and her son was declared as heir to Śantanu.

There is, however, not a single example of a *datta* (formerly adopted) and a *kr̥trima* son inheriting as a son in any of the stories of the Mahābhārata. In fact these sons are definitely rejected by Pāṇḍu as unworthy. The critical text gives two definitions of son-ship. They are as follows :

(a) *bahsṛā māū pitāḥ putra yena jāyeta sa eva saḥ* 1.69.29.

The mother is but a leather bag. The son is the father's. The son is really his, who gives him birth.

(b) *bhāryān̄ patih̄ saṁpravṛṣṭa sa yasmāj jāyatar punaḥ j jāyā ilt̄ jāyātān̄* 1.68.36

The *jāyāhood* of a *jāyā* consists in that a man is reborn again when he enters his wife as her husband.

(2) *pāṇigrahasya tanayaḥ* 1.98.8

The son is his, who has held the hand (in marriage).

kṛn̄nāḥ ca sahaḥkṛt̄ ca kanyāyām̄ yās ca jāyate

voḍhāraṁ pitarān̄ tasya pūṣṭh̄ 5.138.8

As for one who is born of a maiden, one who was there at the time of the marriage of a girl, and born to her before his marriage(?), his father is the man who marries his mother.

The first may be called a biological theory in which the mother is conceived merely as an incubator whereas the father is the real generator of the child. Through this a man could claim the child of a woman to whom he was not formally married but marriage set up certain social considerations. The woman was the property of the man who married her and in the case of a married woman, the biological theory was no good, so we have the second theory which is purely sociological and where fatherhood is defined as a social convention—in terms of property rights. The progeny of a married woman belonged to her husband. A man was the father of all children born to his wife and so even after the death of a man, a man could get children born to him (who claimed his parentage) through his widow provided she remained his widow. During his own life-time if a man was incapable of procreating children he could command his wife to get children for him from somebody else.

Thus the sons of Śakuntalā, Gaṇḍā and Śarmiṣṭhā were sons of their fathers according to the biological definition, and Pāṇḍu, Dhṛtarāṣṭrā, Dharmā etc. were sons according to the second definition.

No *datta* or *kṛtrima* (formally adopted or brought up as an orphan) son has inherited his father's fortune in the vast number of cases recorded in the Critical Edition.

Both the lists agree in denying the right of inheritance to a son of a low-caste. Such a son was Vidura and the Epic definitely says that Vidura was debarred from succession as he was *ḥaraṇa* (of a low-caste). 1.102.23.

A very remarkable fact is that there is one case of a daughter given away in a formal, solemn adoption. She was promised the eldest's rights by her adoptive father. (1.104.2 and 3). Though what she gained by this position is not at all evident, she was used by her adoptive father for service to a Brahmin who pleased by her services would give the blessings to the adoptive father (3.287 and 288). Whatever the number of sons, there never was a superfluous son who could be given to another. The ideal state was supposed to be that of being a parent of numerous children. Having no son was the worst evil that could befall a man. Having but one son was almost as bad having none. The fears and tribulations of the parents of an only son are tellingly depicted in the story of Jantu (3.127.5-12): The patriarchal joint family oscillated between two extremes—both leading to probable extinction. One was of having but one son on whom rested the duty of continuation of the line, the other was having many sons leading to fraternal jealousies and a war ending in total destruction of the clan. But wherever the ruling patriarch was strong he could curb his brothers and his own children and theirs, and so for the sake of the fighting strength of the clan a numerous male progeny was always desired. The epic data do not show that any father would willingly give a son to another. How are we then to explain the institution of adopting a son which has become a very important part of the Hindu family organisation? The gradual disappearance of levirate and Niyoga customs due to moral concepts about the post-nuptial loyalty of the wife, and the absence of *kānina* children owing to insistence on the pre-nuptial chastity of the bride may be pointed out as the causes for the sudden

flowering of the *dattaka* system.⁷ May not culture-contact be the reason of the adoption of this system by the Indo-Aryans? Among the classical people the Greeks had a kind of adoption but the Roman customs of adoption are very similar to those in post-epic India.⁸ Among the Iranians there was adoption by the priests, of a person to the sonship of the deceased in order to secure the death offerings which ensure heaven for a man. Otherwise a man is nominated from the nearest kin to look after the property and is said to be the adopted son.⁹ But this adoption also takes place after the death of a man and so is not to be compared with the Hindu law of *dattaka*. In other Indo-European communities there was no law of adoption.¹⁰ Adoption after the Roman model was first incorporated into his Code by Napoleon and later other European countries also followed suit.¹² Adoption was known in Crete and Babylonia¹¹ and the Semitic world.¹³ It was also known in China.¹⁴ At the present time it is known to almost all primitive communities.¹⁵ It is practised almost universally, almost without rhyme or reason by the people of New Guinea, Torres Straits and Polynesia.¹⁶ One of the reasons of this apparent wholesale transfer of children from one parent to another is given by Sumner as the prevailing matriarchy which separated the children from the father. Generally a man induced his sister to adopt his children so that the property remained in the hands of his own children, if the nephews were adopted by their own aunt.¹⁷ Khassis adopt a girl if the family is threatened with

⁷ Most of the Smritis mention this custom as unworthy. cf. *Jolly, Recht und Sitta* pp. 29, 70-71.

⁸ VINogradov, *Historical Jurisprudence*, Vol. . . . pp. . . .

⁹ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 5, Article of "family" p. 746.

¹⁰ *Encyclopædia of Social Science*, Vol. 1, Article on "Adoption," p. 461 and VINogradov vol. . . . pp. . . .

¹¹ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Article on Adoption.

¹² *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 722.

¹³ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 724-5.

¹⁴ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 732.

¹⁵ SUMNER, KELLER AND DAVIE, Vol. III, 1923-26.

¹⁶ SUMNER KELLER AND DAVIE, Vol. III, 1923-26. p. 1924.

W. H. R. RIVERS, *Social Organisation* (1932), p. 186.

R. H. LOWIE, *Primitive Society*, p. 74.

¹⁷ SUMNER KELLER AND DAVIE, Vol. III, 1923-26.

extinction.¹⁸ In Travancore also where descent is reckoned through the female line a girl was adopted in order to avoid the extinction of the royal line.¹⁹

It will be seen thus that adoption is known all over the world at the present time and so the negative evidence of the epic which has not recorded a single case of the succession of an adopted son or even a single case of formal adoption is significant. The European data, and the classical data as also the Iranian data point to a late adoption of this custom by the people of Indo-European cultures.

Another interesting system which affects inheritance and succession is the system by which the son of a daughter was appointed as heir. The epic evidence is interesting. It has only two cases of *putrikā-putra*. Prajāpati—the father of all creation—lost his one thousand sons and so proclaimed his fifty daughters as *putrikās*. They were given in marriage to various sages and to the moon, etc., and gave birth to all the living creatures of this earth.²⁰ This particular conception of a *putrikā* daughter is entirely unknown to later texts. A man is supposed to destine one of his daughters as the mother of his heir, but is not supposed to make all his daughters into *putrikās*. The above myth fathers the world on Prajāpati through his daughters and not through his sons. In the same way without even mentioning the word *putrikā* all Kṣatriyas are declared as belonging to the solar line through being Manu's progeny. Manu was the son of the Solar Deity. He had sons and daughters. His daughter Ilā was the ancestress of all the Kaurava kings and yet they are placed on a basis of equality with the Ikṣvāku kings who are born of the son of Manu. The epic does not even give the name of the husband of Ilā but says she was both father and mother to her son.²¹ The other example of a *putrikā*—son is the son of Arjuna born through Citrāṅgadā the daughter of the king of Maṇalūrapura. The place was somewhere in the south-eastern part of India and though a very elaborate explanation is given why Citrāṅgadā was made a *putrikā*, the location

¹⁸ CURRON, *The Khasis*, p. 85.

¹⁹ E. THURSTON, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. IV, p. 82.

²⁰ 1.60.11

²¹ 1.70.16: Pururavas tato vidvān Itāyāni samapadyata 1.
sā vai tasyābhavan mātā pitā ceti hi naḥ śrutam ||.

of her father's kingdom points out to matrilocal residence of the child as a southern—or non-Indo-Aryan custom. Apart from Manu's daughter there is another example of a son getting the kingdom of his mother's father but there is no mention of the word *putrikā*. Thus Pratīpa's second son Bālīhika inherits his mother's father's kingdom and leaves his father's kingdom to his younger brother Śantanu. Again in deciding this second much-debated point in Hindu law-books it is necessary to prepare a case book citing all clear and unambiguous reported cases of *putrikā-putras* before it can be decided whether this institution was also not borrowed from matriarchal and matrilocal people among whom the epic Indo-Aryans lived and with whom they sometimes contracted marriages.

The incorporation of the *dattakā* system and the *putrikā-putra* system changed the whole conception of fathership and sonship as defined in the epic as either a biological relationship or as a property relationship through wife's possession. The *dattakā* and *putrikā-putra* modes of sonship do involve ideas of property rights. The one is the assertion of the ruling male of his right to adopt a stranger. (The epic only recognises the right of disinheritance of an own son). The other is the right of a father over his daughter. The *dattakā* system especially struck a blow at the customs of Niyoga and levirate and threatened the right of the collateral branches to inheritance if the senior branch became extinct.

The customs of Niyoga and levirate, implying a certain approach to polyandrous unions are found in the epic. The story of Brhaspati and Mamatā shows that a younger brother had access to the elder brother's wife. The evidence is, however, rather confusing. Dharmarāja's speech to Arjuna where the junior levirate is implied, is as follows 1.205.27.

Guror anupraveśo hi nopaghātō yaśyasaḥ...etc.

The word *anupraveśa* here means not just following but the exercise of marital rights after somebody else. The same word is used when Satyawatī tells her daughter-in-law "Kausalyā : you have a husband's brother. He will come to you today".

Kausalya devāras te'sti so'dya tvānupraveśyati 1.100.2.

Also the objection raised by Draupadī's brother Dhṛṣṭadyumna indirectly lends support to junior levirate (1.188.10). "How can the elder brother, knowing dharma, go with the wife of a younger?"

*yayāśaḥ katham bhāryāṁ jyeṣṭho blāṁ jāyarsabha |
brahman samahivarteta sudurītaḥ saṁs tapadhana. ||*

Accordingly Kṛṣṇa-Draupadī was married to the five brothers one after another, the eldest coming first and the others following according to seniority. But actually when Satyawatī bids Bhīṣma to impregnate his younger brother's wives this is against the sentiment expressed above. (1.97.8,9,10). Also when Kṛṣṇa in order to get Karṇa on the side of Pāṇḍavas tells him, that not only will he be the king as the eldest of brothers but he will also in due time have Draupadī as his wife in common with the other brothers. (5.138.15.)

saṁjhe ca tva tathā kāle Draupady upagaṁṣyati.

We may infer that junior levirate was preferred but in certain circumstances even senior levirate was practised. The marriage of Draupadī must be looked upon also as a special modification of this custom of levirate. A man had a right to his elder brother's wife even during the life time of his brother as the story of Brhaspati and Mamatā shows; this right however was excised without the brother-in-law being the husband of his brother's wife. Nor could the children be claimed as his; however, by undergoing the formal marriage ritual all the brothers could have own sons from the woman. A careful reading of the adhyāyas dealing with Draupadī's marriage convinces us that such a marriage was not an act of divine will—but a political necessity. The five brothers had finished their education and excelled all others. It was the duty of their father (uncle) Dhṛtarāṣṭra to seek out suitable brides for them and to marry them. But such a procedure would have upset all his plans of usurping the throne of the orphaned friendless princes.²²

²² 1.70.16: Karṇa's speech 1.194.3. where he compares them to birds which had not yet grown wings.

*ihāiva varṇamāṇāḥ le samīpe tava pūrṇhita
aṁśapākṣṛāḥ śisacāḥ sakṣiṇāḥ nāva bāndhitam*

You could not harm them, even when they were here within your reach, like fledglings unable to fly (or without partisans) and were but children.

A marriage always meant a political alliance, and the marriages of the five princes into five ruling houses would have gained them such strong partisans that Dhṛtarāṣṭra would not have been able to carry his designs, nor could Duryodhana have conceived the plan of their utter destruction in the combustible house at Vārāṇasī. So the five brothers were as good as exiled to a distant part of the kingdom (1.130.20 and 131.11 Dharma, knowing the purpose of his uncle and yet aware of his helplessness consented to go.) An attempt was made on their life. And things looked so black that Dharma with his brothers and mother decided to live *incognito*. None of the brothers were married, their best friends, the house of the Yādavas thought them to be dead when suddenly Arjuna had the good fortune to win Draupadī. While in this temporary eclipse they had entered a pact of always standing together and sharing everything, whoever it was that won it. Draupadī was won by Arjuna with the help of Bhīma. Through Draupadī an opportunity was offered to make their claims on the Hāstinapura kingdom good, with the backing of the Somakas (Draupadī's clan) and Yādavas (their mother's clan). If Draupadī had been married to Arjuna alone it would have led to mutual jealousies and their one tower of strength, their unity, would have been broken. Dharma sees this clearly and promises that Draupadī should become the wife of all. He first offered that Arjuna should marry her, but Arjuna declined as the marriage of a younger brother with two elders unmarried would be committing a great sin and he left the matter in the hands of Dharma. The few verses that follow are very clear. (1.182.11 to 15.) They seeing Kṛṣṇā standing there, looked at each other and loved her in their hearts. Love was born in them when they sighted Draupadī. Then Yudhiṣṭhira knowing what was going on in their minds and remembering Vyāsa's speech, said to his brothers being afraid of quarrels among themselves (*mithobhedabhayāt*)—"Draupadī shall become the wife of us all". Then later on in order to avoid the taboo of an elder having marital rights over the younger brother's wife he ordered that Draupadī was to be married to him first and then to the others in the order of seniority. That Dharma's calculations were right is proved by the speech of Karṇa. Duryodhana wanted to send clever spies in order to create a quarrel among the brothers. Karṇa sees the futility of this suggestion and answers, "It is not possible to create a disagreement between them. Those who love one wife cannot be divided. Neither is it possible to make Kṛṣṇā dissatisfied with them. Women covet to be

the wife of many husbands. This she has attained and so she cannot be divided from them."²³ She had married them when they were miserable and now that they are prosperous she will certainly not leave them. Levirate is quite a well known social institution in Africa. Polyandry is not known as an established social institution in that region and yet a temporary polyandry is practised in circumstances very similar to those of the Pāṇḍava princes. LOWIE writes,²⁴ "Wahuma polyandry...., while legitimate, is not a dominant institution but occurs under special circumstances and for a restricted period. When a man is too poor to buy a wife alone, he is assisted by his brothers and these share his marital rights until the woman's pregnancy." We find that it was usual for the elders of a boy to arrange his marriage. Dhṛtarāṣṭra deliberately shirked this duty. The brothers were too poor to obtain a wife each, and with a well established system of levirate a polyandrous marriage was not so much against conceived notions of morality as to offend the public conscience. Dharmarājā by insisting in this kind of marriage and by giving an equal status and share to all brothers avoided the mistake committed by the demon brothers Sunda and Upasunda who shared everything in common but quarrelled for the sole possession of a beautiful woman, and were destroyed.²⁵ Later on when the brothers got a half of the kingdom of Hāstinapura each one married again.

As has already been noted, the system of levirate was known, but actually except for the story of Mamatā and Brhaspati levirate in its usual accepted meaning was not practised by the characters in the story. Niyoga was interpreted as command of an elder person to the widow of a deceased son to beget children from either the brother of the deceased or from a Brahmin. Dirghatamas gave such sons to the king Bali (1.98.20-33). Vyāsa, though a son of Satyawatī, was not recognised

²³ *parasparama bhedas ca nūdhātum tesu śakyate*
ekanyām ye nātāḥ patnyām ba bhidyante parasparam
na cānti kṣṇā śakyeta tobhya bhedayitām paraiḥ
patnyānām utawāḥ kṣṇinādyā mṛjūvataḥ
Itasā ca gunah sthīgām ekasyā bahubhartrā
taṁ ca pūṣṭavati kṛpā na sū bhedayitum mukham 1.194.6,7,8.

²⁴ R. H. LOWIE, *Primitive Society*, p. 43.

²⁵ A couplet occurring in the Sundopasand story expresses a sentiment which is not expressed anywhere else, nor acted upon by the characters in the story of the epic. The couplet purports to say that the wife of the elder brother is like an elderly person (e.g. mother) to the younger brother, and the wife of the younger is like the daughter-in-law of the elder.

as Śantanu's son by anybody. His existence even was not known till after the death of Śantanu. That Satyawatī deliberately deceived her daughter-in-law is clear from the text. Instead of telling Ambā whom exactly to expect, Satyawatī tells her : Today your husband's brother will come, receive."

Kausalya devanaste'sti so'dya tvā'nu pravekṣyati |
apramatta pratikṣainam nīlilhe āgamyati || 1.100.2

We are told that Ambā, bathed and dressed in beautiful garments, lay on her couch thinking of Bhīṣma and other Kuru heroes.

śvasīrvāś tad vacanam śrutvā Śayānā śayane śubhe |
ācintayāt tadā Bhīṣmam anyāni ca Kurupuṅgavān || 1.100.3.

By the word *devr* she naturally expected a visit from Bhīṣma, the hero who had carried her away at her marriage festival, or failing Bhīṣma, cousins of Bhīṣma who were born in the joint family. One can imagine her horror when instead of the elegant youths of her household, she was confronted by an unkempt, evil-smelling elderly Brahmin : That this procedure was condemned by others is clear also from the vehement taunt of Śiśupāla in the Sabhā Parvan when he tells Bhīṣma, "You vaunt your celibacy but I think it must be due to impotence. You who call yourself wise, let children be born to you, through your brother's wives, from a stranger while you looked on :"²⁶ While a brother tracing his descent from the father's side was living an illegitimate brother through the mother should not have been called to perform the duties of a real brother. In the Mahābhārata levirate is thus mentioned as a custom allowed by the society though it was not frequently practised. It had not yet lost its prestige, nor thought of as immoral by any person in the epic. In extreme straits polyandry as a logical sequence of levirate was practised as Draupadī's marriage shows. The Mahābhārata battle is said to have occurred a few years before the beginning of the Kali-age according to the Indian tradition and the custom of levirate is mentioned as *Kalivarjya* (not to be practised in Kali-age) by late commentators on the Dharma-śāstras.

Though the general rule of succession seems to be from father to son certain expressions on different occasions point to another possible

²⁶ *dārayor yasya cānyena nīlīlāḥ prājñātmānīnāḥ
lava jātāy apatyānī sajjanācarite pathi*

alternative. All the following examples are merely expressions of a wish or desire and nowhere except in one case refer to an actually realised succession. In the Ādi Parvan, after the birth of Duryodhana, Dhṛtarāṣṭra called Vidura and Bhīṣma and said, "Yudhiṣṭhira as the eldest is the crown prince and has got the kingdom as he is the eldest. I have nothing to say against that, but will this my son (born after him) become king after him? Tell me the truth."²⁷ This question of the poor frustrated old man has remained unanswered. In the Āraṇyaka Parvan Duryodhana after being humiliated by the Pāṇḍava's generosity, in his venture of Ghoṣayātrā decides to commit suicide and makes Duśśāsana king after him (5.238.22). In the Udyoga Parvan Kṛṣṇa tells Karna that if he acknowledged the fatherhood of Pāṇḍu and the brotherhood of the Pāṇḍavas he would become the king and adds "may Dharma become the crown-prince"²⁸ Bhīṣma says "I crowned Citrāṅgada as the king of Kauravas and made the younger brother Vicitravīrya the crown prince." When an elder brother died, or was unable to succeed the younger brother succeeded but otherwise the succession was from father to son. As a matter of fact Vicitravīrya did succeed to the crown as the elder brother died childless. In the Dharma-śāstras there is no mention of fraternal succession. Thus we see the necessity of studying the historical evolution of Hindu Social institution by compiling case-histories in a chronological order and comparing these with the tenets of the Dharma-śāstras. Especially is this necessary as regards the institution of inheritance, levirate, adoption and marriage. The kingship terminology which recognises only the concept of father and not of uncle would lead us to expect that when the eldest male died, those who were called father (the younger brothers of the dead) would succeed before the turn came to the sons.²⁹

27. *jātanātre aṅte tasmān Dhṛtarāṣṭro'bravīt itam
saṃvānīya bahūn viprān bhīṣmaṃ viduraṃ eva ca
gudhūṣṭhīro rājaputro jyeṣṭho naḥ kulavardhanaḥ
prajāḥ samuṣṭo rājyaṃ na tasmān vāyam asti naḥ
apārāṇāṃ anantaraṃ tasmāc cāpi rājā bhaviṣyati
etad dāt bhūta me satyaṃ yad atra bhaviṣṭi dhruvanī 1.107.25-27.*

28. *prajāraja'stu te rājā Kunīputro Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ 5.138.18.*

29. This kind of succession is recorded among Kikuyu and Kalir tribes, among the Aztecs and among the Mastis by LOUVE, op. cit. p. 238. It is also recorded among Russians by Sir Bernard Pares, . . . p. . . In mediæval Russia in the Yaroslav dynasty the succession was fraternal. The eldest nephew succeeded after the death of all the uncles. *Ency Brit.* p. 713.

The following two stanzas must also be construed as pointing to a fraternal succession, though the argument put forward in them was not weighty. "Dhṛtarāṣṭra is yet on the throne, his younger brother Vidura is still living. How can you then command the kingdom, O ! foolish Duryodhana ?" Even the king (Dhṛtarāṣṭra) and Vidura would both be in the position of dependents while Bhīṣma is living but he is not greedy of the kingdom." (5.146.30,31).

Dhṛtarāṣṭra was set aside owing to his blindness, and Vidura owing to his low birth. If Dhṛtarāṣṭra as the first born had got the kingdom in the first instance, the whole reason for the Mahābhārata battle would have vanished. So the above argument in the situation in which it was uttered was absolutely besides the point, but it shows that the possibility of fraternal succession was considered by some persons in the epic.

Another form of preferential mating is the system of sororate, or the custom of a man marrying the sisters of his wife at present ; this is a well-recognised custom in all parts of India but especially in South India. In the critical text we have cases of such marriages. The two Kāśī-princesses, sisters Ambikā and Ambālikā married king Vicitravīrya.²⁷ Two Kāśī-princesses also sisters, married Brhadratha, the king of Magadha ;²⁸ and Jarāsandha gave his two daughters in marriage to Karna, the maternal uncle of Kṛṣṇa.²⁹ There are, however, cases of sisters marrying different kings ; thus, Damayantī's mother and mother's sister were married to the kings of Vidarbha and Cedi respectively.³⁰ This is also understandable as we have seen that daughters were considered as excellent means of sealing political friendships. In this respect the Southern Recension of Mahābhārata is interesting. It has created sisters where none are mentioned. Gāndhārī's ten sisters are supposed to have married Dhṛtarāṣṭra.³¹ Nowhere is it mentioned in the epic that sisters are destined for one man. The recognised legal importance of levirate is thus in contrast with this silence. Marriage with sisters involves no such issues of succession and inheritance as did levirate.

³⁰ 1.96.52.

³¹ 2.16.18.

³² 2.13.29-30.

³³ 3.66.13.

³⁴ Note on p. 467 Ādi Parvan to 1.104.16.

Instead of saying that sister-marriage was preferred it would be better to say that there was no bar against a man marrying sisters, whereas the Kumbhakonam Edition suggests that to the Southerners it was almost compulsory for a man to marry all women who were sisters.

Yet another form of preferential mating is the custom by which cross-cousins are married. Again no verse in the text suggests a special recognition of this relationship, nor is any special preference for such a marriage verbally evinced. Yet if we scrutinize all the examples of recorded marriages we find one which is definitely a cross-cousin marriage and several which are very probably also cross-cousin marriages. The most conspicuous case of cross-cousin marriage which has been made into a cousinly romance by the Southern Recension is the marriage of Arjuna with Subhadrā (Adi Parvan pp. 957-66). From the kings' list given in adhyāya 90 of the Adi Parvan the following marriages appear to be cross-cousin marriages.

- (1) Jayatsena married a Vidarbha princess by name Suśuvā. Arācīna, their son also married a Vidarbha princess by name Maryādā.
- (2) Viśuratha married Sampriyā, a princess of Magadha. Arugvān, their son, also married a Magadha-princess by name Amrtā.
- (3) Pāṇḍu married Mādri. Mādri's son Sahadeva is said to have married a Mādri.
- (4) Pāṇḍu married Yādavī Kuntī. Arjuna a son of Kuntī married Yādavī Subhadrā.
- (5) Vicitravīrya married two Kūśī princesses. His grandson Bhīma also married a Kaśī-princess (2nd cousin?).
- (6) Parīkṣit (according to the classificatory terminology the grandson of Sahadeva) married a Mādravātī (2nd cousin?). Parīkṣit's grand-step-mother was also a Mādri or Mādravātī.

Thus from a record of over fifty marriages one is definitely a cross-cousin marriage while three others appear to be so, and two are apparently marriages with cross-cousins of the second degree. There was thus no bar against cross-cousin marriage but it was certainly not a preferred type of mating.

We have seen that illegitimacy was never considered a bar to succession. Śarmiṣṭhā and Śakuntalā were not married to Yayāti and Duṣyanta respectively and yet their sons succeeded. The double doctrine of

fathership (fathership by the fact of marriage with the child's mother or fathership through impregnation of a woman by the "seed" of a man) helped in all cases and covered the case of illegitimacy.³⁵ Though the child had equal rights the unmarried mother did not hold the same position as the *dharma-patnī* or the wife wedded according to the usual religious ceremonies. A man had his first wedded wife who held the first position in the polygamous household, while those who were married afterwards held a subordinate position; princesses not properly married came next; then came the concubines and last the female-slaves belonged to an inferior caste and their children were ordinarily barred from succession but formed the loyal and trusted followers of the king. They were the *sūtas* (Sanjaya and Vidura belonged to this category).

The kinship usages generally show examples of extreme deference entailing avoidance of certain relatives on the one hand and privileged familiarity with certain relatives on the other. Sometimes, as is the case with the Marāṭhā people today the names of certain relatives are never uttered, they being addressed in the third person or by onorific titles only. In the critical text, as has already been noted, the word *Āryā* (her honour) is used by Draupadī for her mother-in-law Kuntī. There is, however, no taboo on using the name while speaking to a third person. There is a very strict taboo on direct speech between a woman and her husband's father and uncle, i.e., those whom she may call father-in-law. Neither should a daughter-in-law go uncovered in the presence of her father-in-law. The gravity of Duryodhana's behaviour consisted in making Draupadī face the elders of her husband's house in an open assembly and this fact has been stressed again and again by Draupadī.

Joking with the daughter-in-law is held on a par with adultery (5.37.5).

LOWIE reports. (*Primitive Society*, pp. 85-92) that all the tribes of northern Asia, the Yukaghir, the Ostyak, the Buryat, the Kalmuk, the Altaian Turks and the Kirghiz observe the parent-in-law taboo in this form. A woman is not allowed to have speech with her father-in-law

³⁵ The Hindu law though far more considerate than the legal system of Western Europe to the concubine and the illegitimate children has lost its former liberal spirit by which the illegitimate child was placed absolutely on par with the child of the wife by marriage.

or to sleep in the same tent with him. The Oceanic people, the people of Africa and America show another kind of restriction, i.e. that of avoidance between the son-in-law and the mother-in-law. The father-in-law taboo as found in the Mahābhārata is also recorded in unequivocal terms in the Atharvaveda. *ye sūryāt parisarpantī smuseva svasurād adhi* 8.6.24.

The people of the Asiatic plain and of northern India have been in contact through the corridors of the Khyber and the Bolan passes since times immemorial and this fact together with the pastoral background of the Vedic Arians points to a common cultural root for this particular taboo.

There is no explicit record about privileged familiarity between certain relatives, but a very intimate friendship is depicted between Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna and Draupadī. Kṛṣṇa is called the friend (*sakhā*) of Arjuna (e.g. 1.210.5), in numerous places. A picnic entailing revelry and licence is planned only by these two friends (without the other Pāṇḍava brothers) with their wives and concubines on the banks of the Yamunā, where the wives get drunk and where the friends talk of their past deeds of valour and love (1.214.14-28). In another passage Sañjaya describes the behavior of these in their private apartment. Sañjaya describes his visit to Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in the following words. "Then I entered the inner apartments, to tell my message to the two (Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna). Neither Abhimanyu, nor the younger twins were allowed entrance there, where Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna, Satyabhāmā (Kṛṣṇa's wife) and Draupadī were. The two sat on one couch, drunk with honey-wine. Kṛṣṇa's feet were in Arjuna's lap, while Arjuna rested his feet in the laps of Draupadī and Satyabhāmā."

Arjunotsaṅgagau padau Kṛṣṇasopulakau

Arjunasya tu Kṛṣṇāyām Satyaṃ ca mahāmanab 5.58.3-7.

Draupadī always calls herself "the friend" or *sakhī* of Kṛṣṇa. (*Dhr̥ṣṭadyumnasya bhagini tava Kṛṣṇa priyā sakhī* 5.80.21; also *kathan nu bhāryā pārthānām tava Kṛṣṇa sakhī vibho* 3.13.53). Just as the relationship of Draupadī and Kṛṣṇa is depicted by the term *sakhī* i.e. friend, so also the relationship of Satyabhāmā and Arjuna must be that of *sakhī* especially in view of the description above. It is worth noting that in the Southern Recension Arjuna is referred to as Satyabhāmā's brother: *bhrātaram tava paśya iti Satyabhāmām adarśayāt*.

He showed Arjuna to Satyabhāmā saying "see, there is your brother" (p. 958 Appendix I Ādiparvan). Placing the husband's brother on par with one's own brother is quite foreign to the *mores* of the epic. This discrepancy once again demonstrates how absolutely essential it is to have critical editions of Sanskrit texts in order to be able to unravel the riddle of the historical process of culture-contact and culture stratifications going on in India for centuries.

The relative ages of husband and wife do not seem to be fixed by tradition. The custom of junior levirate however must have meant living together of a man with his elder brother's wife, who in many cases, might have been older than himself. There are two cases recorded of women destined for an unborn boy. Gaṅgā as a young woman approached Pratīpa, who refused her advances and promised her the hand of his unborn son. Śantanu fulfilled the promise and lived with Gaṅgā, when he came of age. Thus the beloved must have been at least thirty years older than the lover. Gaṅgā did not belong to the Kṣatriya caste, nor to any other caste. She came out of the woods bordering the river Ganges and was supposed to be an incarnation of the river itself. The other case is that of Kārttikeya and Devasenā. Indra rescues Devasenā from a demon and then comes the birth of Kārttikeya, who is married to Devasenā who must have been at least fifteen years older than her husband.

Though nothing is said about the ages of Satyavān and Sāvitrī, the possibility that she was older than her husband is suggested by the fact that she had almost passed the usual age for marriage and as nobody came forward to wed her, the father in despair asked her to seek a husband. She chose Satyavān. Satyavān's subsequent behaviour in the forest, and his weeping for his father and mother when contrasted to Sāvitrī's calm and collected behaviour throughout the crisis, suggests that Sāvitrī might be older than Satyavān.

We have said that side by side with this dominant patriarchal pattern is also depicted in the Epic, in a subsidiary fashion, another type of a household. Jaratkāru, the sister of Vāsuki, the king of the Nāgas was married to a Brahmin named Jaratkāru who lived with her until the conception. Jaratkāru's child Āstika was also brought up in his

maternal uncle's house.³⁶ Arjuna married or lived with another Nāga-princess Ulūpī, who lived in her father's house.³⁷ Citrāṅgadā the daughter of the king of Maṇalūrāpura also lived with her father even though she married Arjuna, and her son Babhruvāhana was brought up in her father's house.³⁸ Hidimbā the demon wife of Bhīma lived in her ancestral forest and her son Ghaṭotkaca was also brought up in his mother's house.³⁹ Suparṇa Vainateya, the semi-divine eagle also found a Brahmin living with his Niśādī wife at the latter's house.⁴⁰ Of these matrilocal families, two are said to be Nāgas, one a South Indian, one a Rākṣasa living in a forest and one a Niśāda. These women married men of Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa caste but kept to their father's household. We know definitely that in the case of one (i. e. Babhruvāhana) that the son inherited his maternal grandfather's kingdom. The Nāgas are never mentioned as a forest tribe. They are confused with serpents but appear to be powerful rivals and sometimes allies of the epic Kṣatriyas. In the kings' succession list in the Ādiparvan there is a king Rkṣa who married Jvālā, the daughter of a king Takṣaka and another king Ajamīdha who had a Nāga wife. The long feud carried on between the Pāṇḍavas and Nāgas is well recorded. Arjuna wished to burn Takṣaka in the Khāṇḍava forest. Arjuna's grandson Parikṣit was bitten by Takṣaka and Janamejaya vowed to kill all Nāgas and conquered Takṣasilā, the city of the Takṣakas. They are not spoken of as agriculturists. They may have been dwelling in forests as the Khāṇḍava episode suggests, but were certainly never placed by the epic heroes in the category of jungle folks like the Niśādas. No detailed account of the household of these people is given, but the family appears to be constituted on some matriarchal basis. The four people enumerated above may differ among themselves, but in some respects they are all alike and differed from the patriarchal model followed by the epic Kṣatriyas. To understand Indian Social Institutions one must take into account the culture contact from very ancient times between the Vedic Āryans on the one side and the Nāgas, the Niśādas, the Rākṣasas and the South Indian royal houses on the other.

³⁶ 1.44.21.

³⁷ 1.206.25.

³⁸ 1.207.9.

³⁹ 1.143.36-7.

⁴⁰ 1.25.1-6.

The patriarchal polygamous household of the heroes of the Mahābhārata was pastoral in its traditions. These people were no doubt a settled people living in towns but the habits and economy of the ruling class were pastoral. The cultural roots were deeply embedded in pastoralism. Numerous names incorporated the name of horses and cattle. Some of these names were Vyusitāśva, Brhadāśva, Citrāśva, Aśvapati, Aśvatthāmā(?), Aśvasena, Govinda, Gopati, Vṛṣapsravan, Gomukha, Vṛṣasena, etc. The highest wealth which a Kṣatriya possessed was fine horses and the highest distinction of a Kṣatriya was the knowledge of the art of chariot-fighting. The kings kept huge herds of cattle with officers to look after them. The Gograhaṇa-parvan as also the Ghosayātra-parvan show that these herds were located on the periphery of the small kingdoms and were apparently not used for agricultural purposes but for the milk and flesh of the animals. Rare types of horses were demanded either as dowry (3.115.14-6; 5.117.4-6) or as the fees of the Gurus (5.117). Farming is mentioned rarely. Mention is also made of cattle being used for driving the plough. Side by side with ploughing is mentioned a mode of living by which grain growing wild was picked and harvested (*uñchavṛtti*). The *vīs* or the common people practised farming. The Kṣatriyas never practised farming. The Brahmins who lived in forest clearings seem to have begun agriculture on a small scale, but they always depended on domesticated cattle for flesh and milk. A pastoral nobility and an agricultural class of subject peoples supporting it and protected by it is the cultural picture of the Mahābhārata age. The Brahmins and Kṣatriyas intermarried, living together and sometimes exchanging functions; but the agricultural subjects never shared in this common life. In this respect the cultural parallel is to many African communities, where the warrior races live as rulers, tyrants and protectors of agricultural communities, which are treated more or less as serfs. The warrior races are pastoral people tending large herds of cattle. Such are the fighting Masai of East Africa and the Kaffirs of South Africa. Such also must have been the relation of the Kassites with their Babylonian subjects.

In conclusion it may be said that the kinship usages allowing levirate and polyandry and pointing to a possible collateral succession, fully bear out the logic of the classificatory kinship terminology.

The critical edition, besides giving one version accepted as the oldest extant version, also gives all other versions, making it easy to undertake

studies about the cultural background of the epic story. It is indeed surprising that the critical text, though based on late manuscripts, has presented a story, which shows such an unadulterated culture-pattern as depicted in the paper above. The versions deviating from the critical text are themselves valuable for a comparative study as they reveal the bias of regional cultures behind the text-modifications.

ICONOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS IN THE ĀDI PARVA

by

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Indian iconographical studies have been hitherto based on the Vedas, the epics—*Mahābhārata Rāmāyaṇa*, *Purāṇas*, *Āgamas* and later works on iconography, each source being drawn upon as it served to explain a certain image. In such studies no attempt was made either to trace the development of iconography theoretically from any one source or to trace its development objectively from the evidence of existing monuments in a particular region.

BHATTACHARYA remedied this defect with regard to Buddhist iconography both in its theoretical as well as in its objective aspect to some extent. Under his guidance a similar attempt is being made to study the Jaina iconography.

With regard to Brahmanic iconography the recent studies of Jitendra Nath BANERJEA¹ are welcome, concentrated as they are on the hitherto neglected material, viz. coins and seals and aim to deal exhaustively with the iconographical development through these. So also are the studies of COOMARASWAMY who has selected certain items from icons and sculptures and show their course through early Hindu and Buddhist literature as well as sculpture.

In all these studies the *Mahābhārata* is used as a source now and then, but there has been no attempt to explore it thoroughly in the manner contemplated here. Particularly this seems to be desirable now, when we have its critical text.

In the present study which covers the *Adi Parva* only, besides iconographical descriptions of gods and goddesses, their names are also given and discussed, for they are connotative; as also wherever necessary the circumstances under which a given name or certain description of a deity is mentioned. Further these iconographical features, names and incidents are compared with those occurring in early inscriptions, coins and sculptures.

¹ *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta University, 1941.

Such a study, it is expected, will throw light not only on the relative age—the iconographical development—of a deity, but also on the subjects like the antiquity of the cult of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa, and the relative age of the particular Mahābhārata passage, contributing another cultural—or higher text criticism.

The subject deals with the following aspects :

- (1) Invocation to a deity at the beginning of an *adhyāya* or *parva*.
- (2) Names of deities, together with the description of their
 - (a) dress,
 - (b) weapons,
 - (c) other emblems, and
 - (d) vāhana.
- (3) The circumstances under which a certain deity's description occurs.

Invocation.—Excepting the invocatory verse at the beginning of the Ādi Parva, where salutations are first offered to Nara, Nārāyaṇa and Sarasvatī, in the Ādi Parva, whenever there is an invocation at the beginning of an *adhyāya* or *parva*, it is usually to Brahmā² and once to Guru Vyāsa³. No doubt a few, North Indian and Devanāgarī Mss. mention Gaṇeśa even before this stanza, but these are regarded late and interpolated⁴ and rightly. For archaeologically considering both the architectural, sculptural and epigraphical evidence, not only the cult, but also ordinary reference to Gaṇeśa is late⁵. So far as Gujarāt-Kāthiawār are concerned, it may be definitely said that Gaṇeśa's images and invocatory references⁶ in inscriptions become common in or about the 10th century A.D. And as far as the writer's knowledge goes, the same may be said about inscriptions of Northern India where as GETTY has pointed out the earliest dated epigraphical invocation to Gaṇeśa (Vināyaka) is in the Ghatiyāla (Jodhpur) inscription of A.D. 862^{6a}. Perhaps in the South, Gaṇeśa became popular a century or two earlier

² 1.58.3.

³ 1.55.2.

⁴ I. pp. 3-4.

⁵ Gaṇapati is not even mentioned by Varāhamihira in the list of sects flourishing in or before the 5th-6th century A.D., still BANERJIA, *op. cit.*, 250, says, inspite of any numismatic, sculptural and epigraphic evidence, "that it is presumable that the worship of Gaṇapati-Vināyaka was in vogue....."

⁶ Cf. BANERJIA, "The Temple of Śiva at Bhumarī," *MAJL*, No. 16 (1924), pl. XII (a).

^{6a} Getty, *Gaṇeśa* (1936), 30; and EI, IX, 279.

than in the North. In the inscriptions of the Deccan-Koṅkan he is regularly mentioned from the Śilāhāra times (c. A.D. 900) onwards⁷.

In sculpture, faint traces of the early form of Gaṇeśa have been traced by COOMARASWAMY in Amaravati Sculptures^{7a}, and recently by PARANAVITANE in a frieze of a newly excavated *stūpa* in Ceylon, called Kantaka Cetinga, of about the 1st-2nd century A.D.^{7b}, but a full-fledged figure occurs only in the 5th century Gupta temple at Bhumara.

This, the definite occurrence of a Gaṇeśa image in a Gupta monument, may well explain the intrusion of Gaṇapati—Vyāsa episode in the North Indian *Mahābhārata* Mss. It is also in the north, as GETTY has observed, that a personal name—Gaṇapati-nāga—appears about the same time in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta.

If well-authenticated and dated literary evidence is examined, perhaps a similar conclusion will be drawn regarding the position of Gaṇeśa in literature^{7c}.

The same is not however the case with Śiva or Viṣṇu. Inscriptions from about the 5th century A.D., invoke either Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva. It is about this period that the images and the cult of these gods are very strongly evident. Looking however to the tenor of the entire Ādi Parva, the one invocation to Śiva as Pinākin⁸, relegated to the footnote by the Editor, seems justified.

Names and Description of Deities.

Brahmā : Among his epithets the following are most common :

Prajāpati, Pitāmaha or Sarvapitāmaha, Parameṣṭhi, Sthānu, Suraguru⁹, Svayambhū.

No iconographical description occurs.

Śiva : It is not a little surprising that among his epithets in the Ādi Parva the epithet Śiva occurs but once and that too not without a variant reading¹⁰, the others are :

(1) Bhaganetrahara, (2) Deveśa, (3) Devadeva, (4) Hara, (5) Īśāna, (6) Īśvara, (7) Kirātārūpa, (8) Mahādeva, (9) Nilakantha^{12(?)}, (10) Pināki or Pinākadhruk, (11) Sadāśiva¹¹, (12) Śaṅkara, (13) Sthānu, (14) Śūlapāni, (15) Tripurāri, (16) Tryambaka, and (17) Umāpati.

⁷ According to Mr. A. V. NAIK, who is working on this period in the History Department.

^{7a} BURGESS, *The Stupa at Amaravati*.

^{7b} GETTY, *op. cit.*, 25

^{7c} According to PATIL, Gaṇeśa is not mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.

⁸ 1.583.

⁹ 1.130.

¹⁰ 1.218.31.

¹¹ *Ibid.* (v.l.).

¹² 1.16. P. 125, footnote 274.

Some of these are common with those of the Rudras : Mṛgavyādha, Śarva, Nirrti, Aja-Ekapāda, Ahirbudhnya, Pinākī, Dahana, Īśvara, Kapālī, Sthāṇu, Bhava.¹³ All these may be regarded as names of Śiva. Whereas all these names are significant, epithets No. (1) Bhaganetrāhara, (7) Kirātārūpa or (Vāpu), (9) Nilakanṭha, (10) Pinākī, (13) Sthāṇu, (15) Tripurārī, (16) Tryambaka, and (17) Umāpati imply the respective episodes which gave this name to Śiva, though in the Ādi Parva only the episodes implied in Nos. 7 and 15 are slightly referred to.

No clear idea of Śiva's anthropomorphic form is given anywhere. But the story of Tilottamā tells us how one of the forms of Śiva—Sthāṇu, or Mahādeva—came to be four-faced. It was while trying to behold this fair apsara from all quarters that the four faces were created.¹⁴ Forms like Kirāta, Śaṅkara, Umāpati, Pinākī imply a human form, but no idea can be had of the number of arms.

Most probably the number of arms were only two. And the weapons associated with Śiva are *Śūla* (Śūlapāṇi),¹⁵ *triśūla*,¹⁶ (the bow), *Pināka*, (Pinākī,¹⁷ Pinākadhṛk,¹⁸) *ḷṛtī* (mahādevakṛtyam),¹⁹ and the *astras*,²⁰ among which the Pāśupata seems to be the chief, called Mahāstra.²¹

Early epigraphical evidence tends to give much the same conclusion. And perhaps a number of other epithets of Śiva, implying such episodes as the Tāṇḍava-nṛtya will be found to be late. PATIL's studies in inscriptions of the Gupta period (c. A.D. 320-500) reveal that Śiva as Bhairava was known, so also his epithets Hara, Īśa, Mahādeva, Maheśvara, Paśupati, Śambhu, Śiva (mentioned with his liṅga),²² whereas the writer's studies of early inscriptions of the Deccan (c. 100 B.C.—A.D. 300) show that in this period the only epithets of Śiva current were with the prefixes Śiva and Śūla and Skanda. Even the epithet Śambhu is absent.

These iconographical features of Śiva differ in one important respect from those of Vedic Rudra. In the ṚgVeda Rudra carries a thunderbolt,

¹³ 1.60.1-3.

¹⁴ 1.203.22-6

¹⁶ According to V. L. 1.218.31.

¹⁸ 1.44.22.

²⁰ 1.225.10, v. 1. Mentions Pāśupata.

¹⁵ 1.44.22.

¹⁷ 1.28.20.

¹⁹ 1.2.15.

²¹ 1.109.

²² PATIL, "Gupta Inscriptions and the Purāṇic Tradition," *BDCRI* 2, 148 ff.

²³ SANKALIA, "Cultural Significance of Personal Names in Early Inscriptions of the Deccan," *BDCRI* 3, 351 ff.

didyut, a bow and arrows; according to the later Vedic texts a bow, arrows, and a bolt or a club.²⁴ There is no reference to the *śūla* or *triśūla*.

This weapon however is almost always associated with Śiva in early Indian coins. Besides the probable *lingam*-like symbol on an early indigenous coin, the *triśūla* is found on the coins of the Pāṇcāla king Rudragupta, other early coins, and on the coin of Wema Kadphises.²⁵

Similarly the earliest representations of Śiva's anthropomorphic form on the coins from Ujjain and its vicinity,²⁶ on the coins of foreign rulers Gondophares,²⁷ Maues, and the Kushan kings Wema Kadphises²⁸ and Vāsudeva²⁹ are usually two-armed and one-faced. But on certain Ujjain coins,³⁰ as well as the coins of the Kushan kings Kañishka and Huvishka poly-armed and -headed Śiva begins to appear. When so armed the figure carries a number of other objects such as *vajra*, *pāśa*, *kaṇṇaḍḍatu*, *caṭra*, emblems which were reserved for other gods in an earlier period.

From the comparison of Śiva's iconographical features with the Vedic and the early numismatic it would seem that his Mahābhāratic features would place him somewhere between the two periods.

The rarity of the epithet Śiva in the Ādi Parva cannot be explained at present. For though not applied specifically to Rudra in the R̥gVeda, being applicable to other gods in the sense of 'auspicious', in the later period, early numismatic and epigraphical, as mentioned above, it was of common occurrence as an epithet and as the first part of a personal name.

In the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, according to the details kindly supplied by PATIL, among the epithets of Brahmā the following are found: Caturmukha, Sahasramūrdhā, Kamalagarbhābhāḥ, Puṇḍarikākṣa, Hirṇyagarbha, Ādideva, Prajāpati, Īśvara, Mahādeva, Bhūta, Vibhu, Yajña, Kavi, Kapila, Agni, Svayambhū. He is also called Nārāyaṇa, but this epithet has nothing to do with Viṣṇu. Puruṣa, Svayambhū, Hirṇyagarbha and Parameṣṭhī are common epithets, but Pitāmaha is not.

²⁴ MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, 74.

²⁵ BANERJEE, op. cit. 127-9.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 130.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 132.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 135.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 140.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 130.

Śiva is often called Bhūtapati, Pinākapāni, Kapardin, Kapālahasta, Jaṇin, Daṇḍin, Digvastra, Pāśahasta, Gaṇānām-pati, besides Maheśvara, Śārva, Bhava, Paśupati, Rudra. The epithet Trilocana occurs but it is not very common and the story does not occur. His other epithets are : Guhāvāsī, Mahāyogi, Khecara, Rajanīcara and Goghna.

The epithets of both Brahmā and Śiva are more varied than those found in the Ādi Parva. If they are found in all the mss. of the Vāyu, then it will be possible to infer a later and fuller development of the iconographical features of Śiva and also a later composition of the *Vāyu*.

VIṢṆU : Viṣṇu has the following epithets :

(1) Amitraghna,³¹ (2) Ananta,³² (3) Cakrāyudha,³³ (4) Dāmodara,³⁴ (5) Govinda,³⁵ (6) Hari,³⁶ (7) Hṛṣikeśa,³⁷ (8) Janārdana,³⁸ (9) Keśava,³⁹ (10) Kṛṣṇa,⁴⁰ (11) Madhusūdana,⁴¹ (12) Mohinī,⁴² (13) Mādhava,⁴³ (14) Nārāyaṇa,⁴⁴ (15) Puruṣottama,⁴⁵ (16) Vāsudeva,⁴⁶ (17) Vaikuṇṭha,⁴⁷ and (18) Yogeśvara.⁴⁸

Of these of frequent occurrence besides Viṣṇu are the epithets Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, and Kṛṣṇa ; less frequent Keśava and Janārdana, whereas Dāmodara, Govinda, Mohinī, Vaikuṇṭha, Yogeśvara are mentioned only once.

Viṣṇu thus appears to be identified with Nārāyaṇa, and Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva and Devakī. However, there are certain epithets, which always come in a group or a particular context. Thus Nara and Nārāyaṇa, Keśava and Rāma (Balabhadra), Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī, Kṛṣṇa, with Vāsudeva, Dāśārha, Puruṣottama, Keśava.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 135-7.

³² 1.16.14.

³³ 1.180.17.

³⁴ 1.122.

³⁵ 1.197.20 ; 212.21.

³⁶ 1.50.15 ; 216.25 ; 189.31 ; 2.147 ; 1.124 ; 2.93 ; 1.66.

³⁷ 1.191.18 ; 210.3.

³⁸ 1.210.4 ; 213.20.

³⁹ 1. p. 3 ; 15.11, 16.14 and 35 ; 219.15 ; 1.117 ; 17.10-20.

⁴⁰ 1.90.91 ; 58.49-51 ; 199.7.

⁴¹ 1.58.49-51.

³² 1.58.49-51.

³³ 1.16.6.

³⁴ 1.191.19 ; 212.30.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ 1.2.222 ; 189.31 ; 199.50.

³⁷ 1.16.39.

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Viṣṇu is identified with Puruṣa, Brahmā, Ṛta, Iṣāna and others,⁵⁰ while there is a reference—implied—to the Virāṭ-svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa.⁵¹

From purely iconographical point of view we find two "strata", each giving similar details, but important for tracing the development of later Viṣṇuite iconography. In the first "stratum", Nārāyaṇa is said to be wearing Kaustubha jewel on his breast,⁵² or bearing the Sudarśana cakṛa,⁵³ (while Nara had a *divya dhanuṣ*). His full-fledged description is once given, when he was approached by all the gods, after being advised by Brahmā to take birth in this world. Here, as in later iconographical texts, he is described as "*caṅkragadāpāṇiḥ pītavāsāsita-prabhaḥ padmānābhaḥ*....."⁵⁴ "wielding a *caṅkra* and *gadā*, and dressed in a yellow garment." Nārāyaṇa got the Garuḍa as his *vāhana*, and as an emblem on his Dhvajā,⁵⁵ in exchange for the boon of immortality which he gave to Garuḍa.

Identical are Kṛṣṇa's weapons and emblems in the "Mahābhārata-time". As Vāsudeva he obtained the *caṅkra*, (which had the power to come back as a boomerang), called now Vajranābha, from Agni,⁵⁶ and the Kaumodakī Gaḍā from Varuṇa.⁵⁷

What is important to observe is that both Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva are endowed with two weapons only, implying the possession of two arms or hands. And this is so even in the eleventh *adhyāya* of the Gītā, where Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa at Arjuna's request assumes once again his normal form. In this *mānuṣa rūpa* (human form), Kṛṣṇa wore a *kīriṭa*, and though *caturbhujā* (four-armed), carried only the *gadā* and *caṅkra*.⁵⁸ No doubt the *śaṅkha* is mentioned along with the *gadā* and *caṅkra* as when Kṛṣṇa goes to Hastināpura,^{58a} or in the Gītā, but it appears that these weapons and the *śaṅkha* were never held together at one time as in later iconographical texts.

Few coins or seals of the early Christian or pre-Christian era bear the figure of Viṣṇu. But coins have been found with the symbol of

⁵⁰ 1.1.20-1.

⁵¹ 1.1.124.

⁵² 1.16.35.

⁵³ 1.17.19-20.

⁵⁴ 1.58.49-51.

⁵⁵ 1.29.16

⁵⁶ 1.216.44.

⁵⁷ 1.216.25.

⁵⁸ *Bhagavad Gītā*, ed. by BELVALKAR, 1941, *adhyāya* 11, śloka 46.

^{58a} MBH, Udyoga Parva. (*Bhagavadgītā parva*) 5.81.12.

a *caṭra* or wheel; of such representations an "elaborate" or a double wheel and lotus symbol appearing on the reverse of a unique coin of the Vṛṣṇi Rājanyagaṇa is regarded by BANERJEE⁵⁹ as the representation of the Sudarśana-cakra of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. The *caṭra*, though not associated with Viṣṇu in Vedic mythology then, may be the earliest Viṣṇu symbol; Garuḍa and the *gadā* coming next, and still later such symbols as *padma*, *śaiṅkha* and others which are found in figures from the 5th century onwards.

Among the epithets signifying the various exploits of Viṣṇu, two—Govinda and Dāmodara—are important, regarding the connection of Gokula or Bāla-Kṛṣṇa and the Dvārakā or Mahā(bhārata) Kṛṣṇa. The reading Dāmodara seems to be uniformly used by all Mss., for no variant reading is mentioned. It is applied to Kṛṣṇa when he and Balarāma attend the Draupadī *svayamvara*, and see the Pāṇḍavas (as brāhmaṇas) take away Draupadī in the face of opposition by Kṣatriyas.⁶⁰

The occurrence of the epithet Govinda also stands unchallenged but the first part of the 2nd line is doubtful,⁶¹ whereas in the second case, there is also a reading 'Mādhava'.⁶²

If both these epithets, about which the text is fairly correct and unanimous, really go back to the first or early period (about 300 B.C.) of the composition of the present *Mahābhārata*, then it may be said with some justification that by this time Viṣṇu was being identified both with the Dvārakā and Gokula Kṛṣṇa. While considering the epigraphical references it may be said that the reading 'Govinda' may not be later than the 5th century A.D., for, by this time it was already current,⁶³ whereas, as Dr. KATRE pointed out to the writer, it was regarded as a *saṃjñā-vācaṇa* (personal name) by the Vārttika on Pāṇini. Similar acquaintance with the early life of Kṛṣṇa's brother Balarāma is indicated by the latter's epithets "Vanamālī", "Nilavāsā".⁶⁴ It is in these words that the *Bhāgavata*, an admittedly later Purāṇa than the *Mahābhārata* describes him, while Balarāma visits Gokula-Vṛndāvana again. His other epithets are Rāma,⁶⁵ and Haladhara⁶⁶ or Halāyudha.⁶⁷

⁵⁹ BANERJEE, op. cit. 145

⁶⁰ I.180.17.

⁶² I.212.30.

⁶⁴ I.212.20.

⁶⁶ I.211.7.

⁶¹ I.191.19

⁶³ Cf. Fritil, op. cit. 153.

⁶⁵ I.2.222; 199.50.

⁶⁷ I.211.7 (Ms. D₂).

The earliest epigraphical mention of the epithet Rāma along with Keśava is in the Nasik inscription of Vāsīṭhiputa Siri-Pulhmāyi.

Paraśurāma is mentioned once as Rāma, called "a wielder of weapons" (Śastrabhṛt) and placed between the Tretā and Dvāpara (yugas).⁶⁸

Twice there is a reference to Rāma Dāśarathi, in which he is described as a great sacrificer along with other former kings; and a speaker of truth respectively.⁶⁹ This delineation of Rāma as a former great king is more in keeping with his character hinted at by early inscriptions,⁷⁰ than with later purāṇic accounts which bestow divinity on him,

Sūrya has such epithets as Āditya, Arkaja, Bhāskara, Vibhāvasu.⁷¹ Neither in the critical edition nor in the expurgated passages is his full anthropomorphic form described. But Ādityas are associated with *kuṇḍalas*⁷² (a round ear-ornament). Kārṇa is born with a *sahaja* (natural) *kaṇaca* and *kuṇḍalas*; ⁷³ whereas in a passage from D₄ (a mixed Devanāgarī Ms. from Tanjore)⁷⁴ Sūrya tells Kuntī that she will have a son bearing Āditya Kuṇḍalas (*āditya kuṇḍale*) and his impregnable *kaṇaca*. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Sūrya in his anthropomorphic form was represented with *kuṇḍalas* and a *kaṇaca*.

Early sculptural evidence may be here noted. Among the North Indian representations, perhaps the earliest figure so far known is from Mathura. It wears a *kaṇaca*⁷⁵ and long *kuṇḍalas*.

It is interesting to observe that the Mahābhārata Sūrya does not wear high boots, which he does even in the earliest sculptural representation.

Indra and other Vedic gods also appear in the Ādi Parva. But throughout, Indra plays a prominent part, till being worsted first by Garuḍa and then Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna at the time of the Khāṇḍava-dāha.

⁶⁸ 1.23.

⁶⁹ 1.1.168; 197.6.

⁷⁰ Cf. Nasik Inscription of Vāsīṭhiputa Siri-Pulhmāyi, *El.VIII*, 60 and PATIL, op. cit., appendix p. 44.

⁷¹ 1.1.39-40 mention sons of Vivasvān such as Divasputra, Bhānu.....Ravi—all of which were later regarded as epithets of Sūrya.

⁷² 1.3.140.

⁷³ 1.104.11

⁷⁴ Appendix 1.59.5 (p. 908).

⁷⁵ Cf. COOMARASWAMY, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Fig. 103.; also SANKALIA, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 163 where all the evidence on Sūrya is discussed.

Among his epithets—(1) Āditya,⁷⁶ (2) Balasūdana,⁷⁷ (3) Devadeveśa,⁷⁸ (4) Harivāhana,⁷⁹ (5) Sahasrākṣa,⁸⁰ (6) Śakra,⁸¹ (7) Vajrapāṇi,⁸² (8) Vajradhara,⁸³ the last is common. Each of these has some cultural and iconographical element. The first-Āditya connects Indra with the Sun and Viṣṇu. The second and the third hint at Indra's pre-Mahābhārata role. The fourth refers to the horse—*vāhana*—of Indra,⁸⁴ namely a bay-horse. Indra became Sahasrākṣa (1000-eyed) while trying to see the apsara Tilottamā. He was called Vajradhara, because he wielded the Vajra.

Though Indra is credited with other weapons—*vāyavya astras* and *śastras*—which he gave to Arjuna in the classical or historical iconography—Brahmanic, Jaina and Buddhist, he occupies a subservient rôle, ministering either to Śiva or Viṣṇu, or a Jaina Tīrthāṅkara, or the Buddha. And his two characteristic emblems or marks are his *vajra* and the horse or the elephant. Perhaps the earliest figure of Indra is a Jaina sculpture from the Kanakali *tilā* (mound) at Mathura, where he appears seated in *lalitāsana*, with two hands, one holding the *vajra*,^(?)^{84a} and the other peled off.

In Buddhism he appears first in the representations of Buddha's life, and then his personality was perhaps merged into that of Vajrapāṇi.

Figures of Indra on early indigenous coins (bearing the name Indramitra) are not very distinct and hence not useful for iconographical studies. But his theriomorphic and anthropomorphic representations on the coins of Indo-Greek and-Scythians in which a conical object—mountain Śvetavata(?)—, his mount, the elephant, his weapons—*vajra*, and a long sceptre—as well as a human figure seated and some or all, of the above features not only tally partially as BANERJEA^{84b} has observed with the description of Indra's icon as given in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* but also with that given in the *Mahābhārata*.

⁷⁶ 1.121.6.

⁷⁷ 1.203.25-6.

⁷⁸ 1.21.6; 1.218.13.

⁷⁹ 1.22.1.

⁸⁰ 1.21.6 and 1.203.25.6.

⁸¹ 1.218.28.

⁸² 1.26.28; 50.12; 158.49.

⁸³ 1.150.16.

⁸⁴ His mount was also an elephant. 1.218.28.

^{84a} SMITH, the *Jaina Stupa, Aśoka* (MS), XX pl. XCVIII.

^{84b} BANERJEA, *op. cit.*, 164.

Perhaps his earliest (c. A.D. 400.) representation in Brahmanic iconography is on a niche or a caitya-window medallion of the Gupta Śiva temple at Bhumara in Nagod State, Central India. But here he is shown holding a sword(?) with two hands.⁸⁵ So it is not certain whether the figure is of Indra. In the subsequent period even this position he loses, and is rarely prominently represented.

Vedic and other gods are mentioned only once—that too when they turn up to assist Indra in his fight against Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna who allow Agni to burn the Khāṇḍava-vana. In this battle Indra wields the Aśani, (perhaps the same as the Vajra(?)) Yama *kāladanḍa*, Dhaneśvara, *śibikā*, Varuṇa, *pāśa*, Śiva (who is mentioned for the first time under this name)⁸⁶ *vicaṅkṛa*,⁸⁷ Aśvinas, *oṣadhī*, Dhātā *dhanu*, Tvaṣṭā, *parvata*, Jaya, *musala*, Mṛtyu *paraśpadha*, Aryamā *parigha*, Mitra *Kṣura-paryanta cakṛa* (a wheel sharp around), Pūṣā, Bhagī, Savitā *Kārmukha*, Rudrās, Vasavas, Marutas, Viśvadevā and other gods also joined the battle.⁸⁸

On comparing the features of these gods with their Vedic features we find slight but important deviations. Aryaman, Bhaga, Mitra and Savitr are not endowed with any weapon in the Vedic period,⁸⁹ while in the *Mahābhārata* they carry *parigha*, *kārmukha*, *cakṛa* and a *kārmukha* respectively. Pūṣan in the *Rg Veda* wields a golden spear, and an awl or a goad;⁹⁰ here a *kārmukha*. It is said to be characteristic of Tvaṣṭā in that Veda to hold an iron-axe in his hand;⁹¹ now he seizes a *parvata* (mountain). Yama does not seem to have been given any weapon in the *Rg Veda*. However he appears to be identified with death (*mṛtyu*).⁹² In this passage of the *Mahābhārata* Yama and Mṛtyu have a distinct personality; the former carries *kāladanḍa*, and the latter *paraśpadham*. These are evidently later features of these gods, nearer to Purāṇic times.

Varuṇa wielded his old Vedic weapon the *pāśa*. Who Jaya is is not clear. Probably he might be one of the door-keeper gods of Viṣṇu.

⁸⁵ BANERJĪ, "The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara," *MAI*. No. 16 (1924), pl. xiv (c)

⁸⁶ According to G, *Saṁśīva*.

⁸⁷ According to other Mss. *triśūla*, *śūla*, *pinika*. See 1,218,31.

⁸⁸ 1,218,27-37.

⁸⁹ Cf. MACDONELL, A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, 1897, 45, 29, 32 respectively.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 172.

The *Śibikā* of Dhanesvara or Kubera, if understood in its ordinary meaning as a palanquin, could hardly be a weapon of offence or defence.

The *Aśvins* took up the shining (*dīpyamānā*) *oṣadhī* (medicinal herbs) to fight with (?) or to heal the maimed and the injured as they are credited to have done since Rg-Vedic times.⁹⁴

Dhanvantari, the physician god who is sometimes depicted in later iconography is mentioned once. He was the last to come out of the *samudramanthana*, carrying *amṛta* in a white (*śveta*) *kamanḍalu*.⁹⁵

In the same connection is mentioned *Śrī*, also once; *Lakṣmī* along with *Nara*. The only thing that we learn about her form is that she was dressed in a white (*pāṇḍura*) garment. There is no reference to the lotus flower which she is often shown to hold or stand on or both or to the bathing elephants. Her iconographic representations in *Gaja-Lakṣmī* or simply standing or sitting and holding a lotus are common on early Indian tribal and other indigenous coins from about the second century B.C.,⁹⁶ and also on sculptures from *Sāncī* and elsewhere. If, therefore, the entire *Mahābhārata* gives a similar evidence, it might be regarded as pointing to the pre-iconographic stage of development of *Lakṣmī* or *Śrī*.⁹⁷

There are two references to *Sarasvatī*. The first is an invocation to her, in the opening verse of the *parva*.⁹⁸ But here besides calling her a *devī* no details are given. The second reference runs thus "*Kṛṣṇā (Draupadī) babhūva paramaprītā nāgai riva sarasvatī*"⁹⁹ A variant reading gives *Nāgai bhogavatī yathā*.¹⁰⁰ Accepting the reading adopted in the text as correct, what can we make out of it? If the *Nāgas* refer to elephants, then the idea implied in the sentence might be the bathing of *Sarasvatī* by the uplifted trunk of an elephant on either side of the goddess. But usually it is the goddess *Śrī-Lakṣmī* who is so pictured in literature and in early coins and sculptures. So far no early figure of *Sarasvatī* is found in this form. But the later North Indian *Viṣṇu* images

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁹⁵ 1.16.37.

⁹⁶ See Banerjee *op. cit.*, 122-4, and COOMARASWAMY, "The Early Indian Iconography," *Eastern Art*, 1.175 cited by BANERJEE.

⁹⁷ 1. p. 3.

⁹⁸ 1. 206. 3.

⁹⁹ N₁ V₁ (a Newāri ms.)

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do associate Sarasvatī with Viṣṇu as one of his consorts,¹⁰¹ the other being Śrī. Unless however a definite early Gaṇa-Sarasvatī form is found, the explanation here given may be regarded as doubtful. Under the circumstances the variant reading is worth a consideration.

The goddess Gaṅgā is described in anthropomorphic form in the Śantanu-Gaṅgā episode.¹⁰² But this description is vague, and of no value in tracing her later iconographical features, where she is shown to stand on a *maṭara*, and Yamunā on a tortoise.

The conclusions arrived at by the consideration of the names of Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods and goddesses together with a brief description of their iconographical features and their correlation with early epigraphic, numismatic and sculptural data must be regarded tentative until the whole of the *Mahābhārata* is studied on similar lines. But if these data also turn out to be of an identical or similar nature then it may be said that

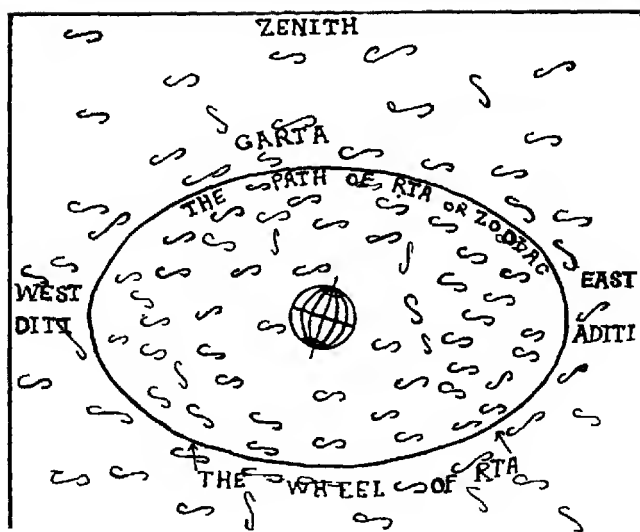
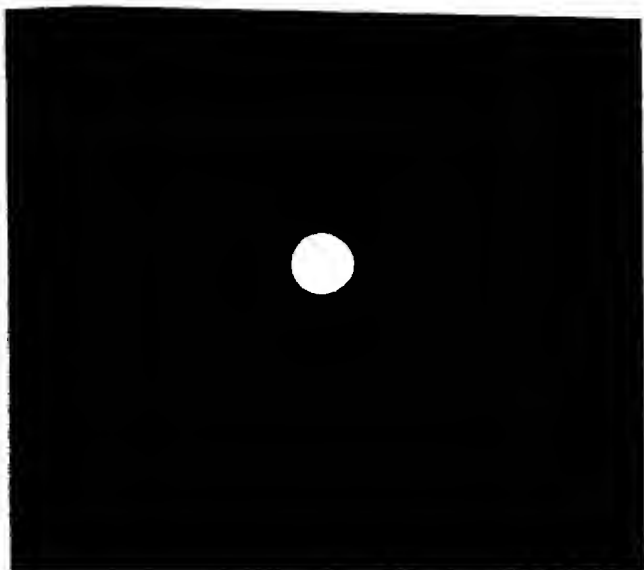
- (1) the *Mahābhārata* evidence points to an earlier stage of the evolution of the iconography of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya, and the goddesses Śrī, Sarasvatī, when these were primarily two-armed and ordinarily one-faced.
- (2) Gaṇapati was still in the distance.
- (3) Viṣṇu had begun to be identified not only with Dvarakī-Kṛṣṇa but with also "Gokula-" or "Gopīla"-Kṛṣṇa.

Conversely the part or parts of the *Mahābhārata* text are very likely of early or pre-Christian date.

When, however, the whole of the *Mahābhārata* will be studied on similar lines, and the data compared with the similarly worked out data from other Purāṇas (for the present only slight use is made of PATIL's studies in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*), and from early numismatic, sculptural, and epigraphical sources, then it will be possible not only to explain the development (and the factors which contributed to this development) of Hindu iconography, but the rise and development of various cults, the several names of various deities, and also the relative age of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇa* passages.

¹⁰¹ Cf. BANERJEE, *op. cit.*, 33. 102 192.27.

¹⁰³ For the epithet "D.modara" popularly signifies the exploit of "Child Kṛṣṇa" Gokula.



THE ṚGVEDIC ANTECEDENTS OF THE DHARMA-PĀŚA OF VARUṆA IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By

V. M. APTE

§ (i) So immensc is the extent of early literature that has been absorbed in the Mahābhārata, that, inspite of the process of synthesis, revivification and reorientation to which it was subjected, it is hardly surprising that, we should occasionally stumble upon some interesting fossils of very ancient notions, strangely preserved in the body of the work. The mythological material of the epic, in particular, will yield a fair harvest to an investigator in this direction because in mythology sooner than in any other field, the critical and inquisitive attitude is apt to be relaxed and old ideas are either exaggerated, forgotten or misunderstood by a later generation.

§ (ii) While reviewing the Vedic and epic characteristics of Varuṇa, in the course of my mythological studies, I came across the curious expression *dharma-pāśa* ('the noose of Right') associated with Varuṇa in 2.9.*17 and 5.126.46, whereas elsewhere, the *pāśa* of Varuṇa is called *ghora* (3.190.68) and *ugra* (3.221.11). In the search for an explanation of this apparent inconsistency or this double aspect of Varuṇa's *pāśa*, the problem of the origin and development of the *pāśa* conception in Vedic literature had to be investigated into and the results of my inquiry into the earliest (i.e. the ṚgVedic) antecedents of Varuṇa's *pāśas* provided a solution, which it is the object of this paper to present. Before I turn to an examination of this ṚgVedic evidence, a fairly complete account of the *pāśas* in the Mahābhārata must be given.

§ (iii) In the Great Epic, the noose or fetter (*pāśa*) is *predominantly*, though not *exclusively* associated with Varuṇa. I say 'not exclusively' because the epic associates it also with Yama and even 'Kāla' and 'Mṛtyu'. The epic is not consistent in its treatment of the latter two.

*In the first five Parvans, the references are to the Critical edition; in the rest, to the Bombay edition of the Mahābhārata.

terms. They seem to be used sometimes of Yama himself, whereas a review of all the passages employing them indicates that each of the three—Yama, Kāla and Mrtyu—has a distinct individuality of his own, the order of superiority being Kāla, Yama and Mrtyu. A consideration of the earliest antecedents and subsequent evolution of the *pāśa* conception reveals that the association of it with Yama is a later development. In the RV, the *pāśa* is almost an exclusive instrument of control and punishment of Varuṇa. Yama there is credited only with a *paś-bīśa* (*paś-vīśa* in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā XXV.38.39) meaning 'footfetter' or 'hobble'. How Yama gradually came to be possessed of a *pāśa* is easily understood. Varuṇa is, in the first place, one of the three individual gods, in whose company Yama is referred to (RV X.14.7) as rejoicing in the offering to the dead, in the world of the Pitṛs. Secondly, when Yama, already an object of dread in the RV, owing to some of his traits [such as death being the path of Yama (RV X.165.4; cf. also Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā II.5.6; Atharva-veda VI.28.31; 93.1 etc.)] and particularly because of his messengers, came to be ultimately a god of death, his closer association with the terrors of death in the AV. and later mythology helped the identification. What should be more natural, then, that, in the epic, Yama, the god of Death, the King of the Pitṛs (3.297.17) should share the possession of a *pāśa* with Varuṇa (his R̥gVedic cosharer in the offering to the dead, in the world of the Pitṛs), particularly as the *pāśa* is the most suitable instrument or contrivance to noose the soul of the dying (Mbh. II.4.11)? This process was hastened by another circumstance also. The Epic always connects the name of Yama with the sense of 'restraining' (compare *Yamaḥ soṇyamatām aham* in 6.34.29 = Bhagavadgītā X.29 and *prajāśāntyamano Yamaḥ* in 3.297.66), although this derivation is not borne out by the evidence of the R̥gVeda, in which the word *Yamā* which is the name of the god—a twin with *Yamī*—and which has also the appellative meaning of 'twin' in several passages is quite distinct from the word *Yāma* (with a different accent) meaning 'rein' or 'guide' in a few places.

§(iv) To turn now to the Mahābhārata account of Varuṇa's *pāśas*:—1.228.31 speaks of the *pāśas* of Varuṇa, and the *Kāladanḍa* of Yama. In 8.42.36, Karna tells Śalya that he is not afraid of even Varuṇa, the bearer of the *pāśa* or of the son of Vivasvat (Yama) the bearer of the rod (*danḍa*). Both these passages which refer to the *danḍa* as the

characteristic weapon of Yama and as parallel to the *pāśa* of Varuṇa but out the view advanced above that the association of the *pāśa* with Yama is a later development. 3.190.68 refers to Varuṇa who could kill with horrible (*ghora*) nooses (or fetters), a sinner (even a king) who offends a priest. 3.221.11 tells us that Varuṇa carries his peculiar weapon, the formidable (*ugra*) noose, even while moving in a procession. In 12.95.20cd, and 21ab, Bhīṣma tells Yudhiṣṭhira that 'the sceptic, though claimed by death thinks himself immortal, though bound with the fetters (*pāśas*) of Varuṇa and puffed up like a (puffed) skin does not keep to (the path of) good deeds (or merit)'. Here the stuff of which the fetters of Varuṇa are made, is hinted at as non-material or unearthly, exactly as in the R̥gVeda (as we shall see subsequently). Verse 21ab again reminds us of R̥V. VII.89. where Varuṇa is implored to be merciful to the suppliant and laments that 'he goes forth puffing like a puffed skin'. It is possible, though not beyond doubt, that dropsy is intended here or in the R̥V. as a noose (compare the R̥gVedic verse VII.89.4a1 in which this is a parody). The power to control and restrain (*saṁyama*) is a special attribute of Varuṇa in 2.69.16 where it is said to be typical of Varuṇa and as such worthy of emulation by Yudhiṣṭhira also in 1.19.6 where the home of Varuṇa is called 'the place of confinement (*bandhanam*) for the Asuras'.

§(v) Whereas however, the picture of Varuṇa's *pāśas* that the passages depict is a grim one, there are two passages (2.9.17; 5.121) which associate with Varuṇa a *pāśa* (or *pāśas*) of beneficent aspect as an instrument of healthy restraint. In 2.9.17 we are told that in *Varuṇasabhā*, gods, daityas and all, of perfectly correct conduct wait upon the great god Varuṇa 'abiding as they were, within his *dharma-pāśas* (*dharmapāśasthitāḥ*)'. The context clearly shows that *dharmapāśas* (or 'bonds or fetters of Right') belong to Varuṇa. In fact for pāda b (*dharmapāśasthitāḥ sadā*), the critical apparatus provided by the Editor actually records the variant '*dharmapāśa-dhṛiṣṭvā sadā*' [(they waited upon Varuṇa) 'who always carried the noose of Right'] of manuscripts N₁, V₁, BD and the variant *dharmapāśa-dhṛiṣṭvā sadā* ('carrying always in his hand the noose of Right') of manuscript B₃. In 5.126.46 Varuṇa is described as binding the Daityas and Dānavas handed over 'bound' to him, with his own *pāśas* as in

with the *dharma-pāśas*. In both these passages, the function of the *dharma-pāśas* seems to be merely of a *restraining type* because in 2.9.17, those that abide within the *dharma-pāśas* are already 'observers of correct conduct' and in 5.126.46, there is no scope for the grim aspect of the *pāśas* as the Daityas are already 'bound' and are merely guarded (not tortured or punished) with the *dharma-pāśas*.

§(vi) How are the two sets of passages to be reconciled? One explanation would be that Varuṇa is described as wielding two types of *pāśas*—one of beneficent, another of maleficent aspect. Another explanation would be to interpret *dharma-pāśa* as a metaphor meaning 'restrictions imposed by Right'. This, however, does not suit the second passage, 5.126.48, where the expression is 'having bound them with the *dharma-pāśas* and with his own *pāśas*.' The correct explanation of this inconsistency is yielded by tracing the earliest antecedents of this *dharma-pāśa* in the R̥gveda, where in my view *ṛtá* (the later equivalent of which is *dharman* or *dharma*) represents the *pāśa* of Varuṇa! The question whether this word *ṛtá* (under which name is recognized the Cosmic Order or Law prevailing in nature and which designates 'order' in the moral world as 'right' and in the religious world as 'rite') stands for an abstract conception *right from the beginning* or whether there was a natural basis for this *ṛtá* (which enjoys divine status in the RV.), as for many other RV. gods, will also have to be examined.

THE CONCEPTION OF VARUṆA'S FETTERS IN THE R̥GVEDA.

§1. The fetters of Varuṇa are often mentioned in the R̥gVeda explicitly as well as implicitly. In fact, the term *pāśo** being used almost exclusively in connection with Varuṇa is distinctive of him. What may be the basis of this awe-inspiring conception which is, in a way responsible for the character of the god as a moral governor, in which capacity he towers over all the other deities of the R̥gVedic pantheon BERGAIGNE¹ thinks that the tying up of the waters should explain the origin of the conception. HILLEBRANDT² believes that it follows from the fetters of night. To MACDONELL,³ 'it seems to be sufficient accounted for by the figurative application of the fetters of criminals to moral guilt.' But if this (last) were a complete explanation of the *pāśo* conception, then the *pāśas* may have been predominantly associated with Varuṇa but not *exclusively*, because the character of all the R̥gVedic gods is moral; they all get angry with the sinner and some of the like Indra punish moral guilt. Besides, there still remains the task of searching for the divine counterpart of the fetters used by earthly kings to punish criminals.

§2. My study of the forty (40) relevant hymns—8 to Varuṇa, 23 to Mitra and Varuṇa and 9 to Indra and Varuṇa and the 423 passages outside these hymns in which Varuṇa is mentioned either alone or along with Mitra or (and) Indra, Aryaman and other deities, has led me to a new conclusion, which throws unexpected light on the term *dharmapāśa* ('the noose of Right') used in the Mahābhārata⁴ for the noose carried by Varuṇa. The evidence for this conclusion I propose to state and examine now.

§3. Passages in which the *pāśas* of Varuṇa are directly mentioned are the following:—1.24.15⁵; 25.21⁶ show that the fetters were the

*This word is to be read as *pāśa* throughout.

¹ *La Religion Védique*.

² *Vedische Mythologie*.

³ *Vedic Mythology*, 26.

⁴ *Mahābhārata* 2. 9. 17.

⁵ *úd uttamám varuṇa pāśam asmád ávādhamañ vī madhyamám śrathāya { áthā vayám āditya vraté távānāgato āditya syāma || 1.24.15.*

⁶ *úd uttamám mumugdhi no ví pāśam madhyamám cṛta ávādhamañi śivāse || 1.25*

the topmost, the middle one and the lowest one. Interesting is the suggested method of release from this triple *pāśa* which held a victim (Śūnahśépa, for example) in bondage. The topmost one was to be disentangled by being thrown off (the head) upwards, the lowest one by being thrown off (the feet) downwards, but the middle one was to be loosened, slackened or relaxed apart (*√śrath* with *vi*) or untied (*√cṛt* with *vi*). The latter root used in the past participle form in II.27.16⁷, where the *pāśas* of the *Ādityas* (of whom Varuṇa is the chief) are said to be untied or loosened for (i.e. against) a rogue (*ripāve vicṛtātāḥ*) lets us in, on a new aspect of this 'untying' operation which seems to cut both ways! The fetters, it seems, could be loosened around or untied and then spread out as a trap to catch the unwary *ripā* to be tightened round him immediately he is trapped and could be loosened off the victim when he was to be set free! I.24.13⁸ gives us a novel piece of information (not repeated elsewhere) that the *pāśas* were to be removed from a victim (Śūnahśépa) who was made fast to three (wooden) stocks [*dru-paddā*, lit., wooden foot (-stool)]. This must evidently be brought in a line with the above description of the offender or victim, tied up in three places.

This triple character has become such a distinctive trait of Varuṇa's bond, that when in I.163.4⁹ the steed (*ārvant*) is credited with three ties (*bāndhanāni*) in heaven, three in the waters, and three in the Ocean, he appears (to the poet) to be Varuṇa, as it were!

In V.2.7.,¹⁰ there is a prayer to Agni: 'You released the bound Śūnahśépa from the thousand (—fold?) *yūpa* (once), disentangle similarly the *pāśas* from us (now).' The mention of Śūnahśépa makes it clear that the fetters belong to Varuṇa (see I.24.12 and 13) and that Agni exercises his good offices on behalf of the victim to secure his release therefrom. In the same way, in VI.74.4¹¹ Soma and Rudra

⁷ *yū vo māyā abhidrūhe yajairāḥ pāśā ādityā ripāve vicṛtātāḥ |
asūta tām āti yesam rāthenāristā uṣāo ā śārman syāma ||* II.27.16.

⁸ *śūnahśépa hy ālwad gṛbhītās triṣv ādityām drupadeṣu baddhāḥ |
āvutām r'jā vāruṇaḥ saṣṭiyād vidvān ādabaho vī mumukṣu pāśān ||* I.24.13.

⁹ *trīṇi ta āhur divi bāndhanāni triṣy apas triṇy antāḥ samudrē |
utēva me vāruṇas chantay aroan yātṛ ta āhūḥ paramām janītram ||* I.163.4.

¹⁰ *śūnas cic chepaṁ niditām sahasrād yūpād amaṇca āsamiṣṭa hī śāḥ
eśmād agne vi mumugdhi pāśān hātās cikṛta thā iṣ nṛādya ||* V.2.7.

¹¹ *or na muñcatān vāruṇasya pāśād |* VI.74.4.

are invoked to release the suppliants from the *pāśas* of Varuṇa. X.85.24^{ab12} gives the very important piece of information that even Sūryā—the divine prototype of the human bride—was subject to Varuṇa's bonds, clasped on her by Savitr̥. The exalted character of the Imperial Varuṇa could not have been brought out more vividly by any explicit statement to that effect than by this delegation of the mechanical duties connected with the administration of his fetters to other deities—the clasping of them, for example, to Savitr̥ (X.85.24^{ab}), and the unclasping of them to Agni (V.2.7) or to Soma and Rudra (VI.74.4).

Finally VII.65.3¹³ tells us that Mitra and Varuṇa possess numerous *pāśas*. In spite of the tendency of the RġVedic poets to be so engrossed in the praise of the particular deity they happen to be invoking as to exaggerate his attributes to the point of inconsistency—a tendency that gave rise to the theory originated by Max MULLER and named by him as Henotheism ('the belief in individual gods alternately regarded as the highest')—the fact is not without significance that there is hardly a *pāśa*-passage addressed to a deity, in which Varuṇa is completely out of the picture!

§4. But the value of these *pāśa*-passages would be considerably discounted, if the use of the word *pāśa* were an adventitious, though exclusive feature of the god. Such it is not and herein lies the significance of these passages. They throw into relief Varuṇa's character as the Binder, Restrainer, Regulator, or Controller, & excellence among the gods [compare X.66.2,^a for example, where the gods are said to be aroused by Indra (*Índra-prasūtāḥ*) but controlled by Varuṇa (*Váruṇa-prasīṣṭāḥ*)]. It should be a natural expectation then that not merely the word *pāśa* but the *idea of restraint* behind expressed through a variety of other words, is found associated with Varuṇa in as many diverse forms. This expectation is fully realised in the RġVeda. Words expressive of 'restraint' and almost synonymous with *pāśa*, so used are, *śeṭi*, *raśmán* (or *bāhú*?), *śyāman*, *abhīśu*, *raśi*, *dāman*, *raśmí*, *śetu*, *bāndhana* etc. There are also a number of passages which by implication or suggestion emphasize this peculiar rôle of Varuṇa as the (All-) Binder.* We will consider all these passages now.

¹² *prá tvā muñcāmi váruṇasya pāśād gēna tvābādhmāt evatīṣā suśívah* | X.85.24^{ab}.

¹³ See Footnote No. 139 for the text and section 28 for a discussion of the verse.

In VII.84.2,¹⁴ Mitra and Varuṇa are said to bind (*sinīthāh* from √*si*, to bind) with bonds (*seiṛbhīh*, from the same root), not made of ropes. So the stuff of which the bonds are made is not earthly. What this stuff is, it is the purpose of this paper to find out.

VI.67.1^{ed}¹⁵ refers to the Matchless Two, Mitra and Varuṇa, the most efficient controllers (*yāmiṣṭhā*) who pull in or control (*sām*..... *yamātuh*) the people with their own arms (*bāhūbhiḥ* *svaiḥ*) as if with a cord (*raśmā*, I.S.). The importance of this passage for ascertaining the nature of the controlling apparatus used by the All-Controller (or—Controllers) cannot be over-estimated: The root *yām* with *sām* is used in the sense 'to pull in (the reins)', in I.144.3d; the word *yāma*(n.) itself is used in the sense of 'rein' in V.61.2^d. The verse thus vividly portrays the Two as pulling in the people with the reins of their arms which thus serve for *pāśas* as it were, in a good sense. A similar use of their arms is hinted at in V.64.1^{ed},¹⁶ which speaks of Mitra and Varuṇa, encompassing like two pens (*vrajā*), the sun-hero within their arms. These arms play an important part in the movements of the two gods 'who set themselves in motion (as if on a car) with their arms, in the company of the Sun's rays' (VIII.101.2^{ed}).¹⁷ The act of encompassing or pulling in is very fittingly described as taking place through the movement of the arms.

In I.122.15^{ed},¹⁸ 'the car of Mitra and Varuṇa which shines like the Sun has a long forepart and has straps for hands (*syūma-gabhastih*). GELDNER¹⁹ rightly points out that the car itself is compared to the person of the two gods. So then, the comparison of their hands to the straps or cords of the *rātha* is in a line with the suggested comparison of their arms to cords or reins in the preceding section.

¹⁴ *Yuvā rāṣṭrām bhāḍaḥ tvati dyāuḥ yā seiṛbhīḥ vrajjūbhiḥ sinīthāh |*
pāri no hīlo vārunasya vṛjyā urāt na indraḥ kṛṇavad a lokām || VII.84.2.

¹⁵ *sām yā raśmēva yamātar yāmiṣṭhā dvā jānām āsamā bāhūbhiḥ svaiḥ VI.67.1^{ed}*

¹⁶ *Varuṇam vo rāśādasam ṛcā mitrām havāmahe |*
pāri vrajēva bāhūbhiḥ jagannvāmā nāḥ garam || V.64.1.

¹⁷ *tā bāhūḥ nā dāśācānā ratharyataḥ sākām sūryasya raśmībhiḥ || VIII.101.2^{ed}*

¹⁸ *rātho vām mitrāvāruṇā dīrghāpāḥ syūmagabhastih sūra nādyout || I.122.15^{ed}.*

¹⁹ *Der R̥gveda, übersetzt und erläutert.*

The association of 'reins or controlling cords' (*akṣitū*) with Mitra and Varuṇa is further seen in VIII.25.24²⁰ ' (I have attained to) the Two sages (*viprā*) equipped with reins (*smādabhīṣū*) and provided with a whip (*ḥāṣā*). ' The *ḥāṣā* is the same as the *aiśvājani* to which the column of ore (*ayas*), adorned with gold forming part of the *Kṣātrām* (dominion) of the two gods and shining in heaven is compared in V.62.7 (see also V.62.6 and 8) and is the lightning. For our purposes however, it is only necessary to note that the reins or controlling cord of Mitra and Varuṇa are in action high up in heaven as in all the other passages. The passage VII.65.3²¹ speaks of Mitra and Varuṇa as the (personified) Bonds i.e. Binders of *ānta* (*śetu*, from *√śi*, to bind), but it will be considered in detail in another context, along with other *śetu* passages, in a later section.

§5. We now take up passages where there is, according to MACDONELL, 'a figurative application of the fetters of criminals to moral guilt'²², through similes where Varuṇa is prayed to by the supplicant for release from his own sin, misdeeds or evil or Varuṇa's anger as if the latter themselves were the fettering cords or ropes (*dāman*, *raśanā* etc.) of Varuṇa holding him in a vice-like grip. Thus in II.28.5²³,²² the poet implores Varuṇa to 'slacken sin (*āgas*) off him as if it were a (fettering) rope (*raśanā*)'; in II.28.6²³, 'to disentangle evil (from him) like the halter (*dāman*) from a calf.' In VII.86.5²⁴ we have an exchange or mix-up of the *upamā*-parts or correspondences in the simile e.g. Varuṇa is implored 'to release or set free the misdeeds' (in the sense, 'from') the Vasiṣṭhas (whether committed by themselves or their fathers), as (one should set free) a calf from the halter (*dāman*).

²⁰ *Smādabhīṣū ḥāṣāvanta viprā nāvīṣṭhagā matī |*
maḥ vājīnāv āruvātā śāśānam || VIII.25.24.

²¹ *Vedic Mythology*, 26.

²² *vī māc chrathīyā raśanām tūṅga rādhīyā te varuṇa khām rāśayā | II.28.5^{ab}.*

²³ *dāmeva vaiśād vī mumugdhy ānīha naḥ tvād āre nīmīśaś canēśe || II.28.6^{cd}.*

²⁴ *āva druṅdhānt pītryā rājā nā * va yā vāyān cakṣmā tanūbhīḥ |*
āva rājan paśutīpaṇi nā tūyān rājā vatsān nā dāman vasiṣṭham || VII.86.5.

§6. In the following passages, the fetters are not mentioned in so many words either directly or through a simile as belonging to Varuṇa but suggested beyond doubt by the employment of similar verb-forms and a context identical with that in the passages cited in the preceding sections. I.24.14^d,²⁵ and V.85.7^d,²⁶ implore king Varuṇa to shed or let loose (*śīrāthaḥ* and *śīrāthāḥ*, respectively) sins off the suppliant (as if they were shackles). The verb-forms: *gṛbhītāḥ* [seized (with bonds)] and *mumoktu* ('may he release') in V.12 of I.24²⁷ point to the same bonds by implication in view of the unmistakable Śūahāḥṣa context. In IV.1.4²⁸ Agni is appealed to to calm down the anger of Varuṇa and loosen (*prā mumugdhi*) all malice and hatred from the suppliants. In V.85.8^{ab},²⁹ the god is implored to discharge or rip apart all offences—consciously or unconsciously committed—as if they were (bonds) ['slackened' or 'entwined', according as we interpret *śīthirā*. Whatever the interpretation, our proposition remains unaffected]. In other words 'that which belongs to Varuṇa' (*Varuṇyām*) has come to mean in the RV. 'the *pāśa* of Varuṇa' in the relevant context (where a guilty conscience fears punishment) as for example in X.97.16:³⁰ 'May they, the Oṣadhis, release me from (curse) of malediction, from (the scourge) of Varuṇa and from the foot-fetter of Yama, (in fact) from all offence against the gods'

§7. Though thus, some of the passages cited above lend colour to the hypothesis that moral guilt was transformed by poetic fancy and religious fervour into a kind of fetter, there also emerges from a careful consideration of all the inconsistencies of metaphors and figurative applications (pointed out above) the construction that when a person

²⁵ *kṣāyann asmābhyam asura pracotā rājann enāmsi śīrāthaḥ kṛtāni* || I.24.14^d.

²⁶ *veśān vā nityam varuṇārāṇāṃ vā yātīm āgas cakṛmā śīrāthas tāt* || V.85.7^d.

²⁷ *śūnahāśepo yām āhvaḥ gṛbhītāḥ sō asmān rājā vāruṇo mumoktu* || I.24.12^d.

²⁸ *tvām no agne vāruṇasya vidvān devāsya hṛdā 'va yāsisiṣṭhāḥ | yājñīṣṭho vāhntamāḥ 'śūsucāno vīśvā devāṣāṃst prā mumugdhy asmāt* || IV.1.4.

²⁹ *kṛtaśvāso yād riripūr nā dīvī yād vā ghā satyām utā yān nā vidmā | sāvā tā vī śya śīthirēva devādhā te syāma varuṇa priyāśah* || V.85.8.

³⁰ *muncantu ma śapathyaḥ ātho varuṇyad utā | ātha yamāsya pādhibḍat sāvasmād devakṛibhāt* || X.97.16.

committed a sin, the sin, as it were, stuck to the sinner because both appear to be tied to each other by the fetters of Varuṇa, which were thus something outside the two and not 'identical with sin'.³¹ Thus an offence or guilt was, in a sense, (literally) 'fastened' on the offender or the guilty party, in the language of these ṚgVeda citations where 'separate the (moral) crime from the criminal' or *vice versa* (the criminal from the crime) is almost a refrain!

§8. If the use of the fetters is thus a perfectly natural function of Varuṇa—the All-Binder, we expect that there should be some evidence in the ṚgVeda, pointing to his original character as the 'Unbound or the 'Bondless One' in a very special sense, nay, in a marked manner in the ṚgVeda. And this expectation is amply fulfilled. "Though other gods, Agni, Savitr, Sun, Dawn, Heaven and Earth are petitioners to pardon sin, the notion of releasing from it is much more closely connected with Aditi and her son Varuṇa, whose fetters that bind are characteristic, . . . This notion is nearly allied to the etymology of the name. The word *aditi* is primarily a noun meaning 'unbinding' 'bondlessness', from *di-ti* 'binding, derived from the root *da* 'to bind'. The past passive participle of this verb is employed to describe *śunah'epa* 'bound' (*di-ta*) to the stake (V.2.7). Hence as a goddess Aditi is naturally invoked to release her worshippers like a tied (*baddha*) thief (VIII.67.14). The original unpersonified meaning of 'freedom' seems to survive in a few passages of the RV.³² He further adds (in another context), "The expression *aditeḥ putrōḥ*, sons of Aditi several times applied to the Ādityas in the RV., may in the pre-Vedic period have simply meant 'sons of freedom' (like *sohasaḥ putrōḥ*, sons of strength) as describing a prominent quality of Varuṇa and cognate gods. The conclusion which I draw from these two passages quoted (italics being mine) from MACDONELL's account of Aditi (a conclusion not drawn by that scholar, however) is the following:—The epithet *Āditya* applied to Varuṇa and the expression '*aditeḥ putraḥ*' (son of Freedom) which shares with the Ādityas, of whom he is the chief, constitute unmistakably

³¹ This is the implication of MACDONELL's explanation of the *pāśas*, for which see section I.

³² MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 121, l. 15ff.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 122, l. 40 ff.

evidence of Varuṇa's original character as the 'Unbound' or the 'Bondless One'! His power of releasing from the bonds of physical suffering and moral guilt is perfectly in keeping with, nay, *directly deducible* from the etymological meaning of the epithets *Āditya* or *aditē putrah* (IV.42.4) so frequently applied to this Chief of the *Ādityas*! Incidentally, I may offer a solution of a puzzle regarding Aditi to which MACDONELL³⁴ has given expression thus: 'But how are we to account for so early a personification of such an abstract idea and in particular for Aditi becoming the mother of the *Ādityas*?' Varuṇa the *Āditya*, is connected with *ṛtá* in a special sense (as I propose to show in a subsequent section); *so is Aditi*. This *ṛtá* (next) has for its natural basis the belt of the Zodiac (the proposition is advanced with the necessary evidence in the sequel in this paper). Now the *devas*, the Lights of heaven, seemed to the ancients to recover their freedom from the clutches of darkness and to begin their bright career from a fixed point in the East, lying on the belt of the Zodiac (*ṛtá*). *This point was Aditi*. No wonder that the luminaries, suddenly emerging thus into freedom and light, (emerging, in other words, *into life itself*) from this fixed point Aditi, received the epithet 'sons of Aditi'. Diti was the exactly opposite point, on the path of the Zodiac in the West, where the Lights went out, being caught in the meshes of darkness. It will thus be not necessary to suppose³⁵ that "the name of Diti as a goddess seems to be merely an antithesis to that of Aditi, formed from the latter to express a positive sense, as *sura*, 'god', was later (by false etymology) evolved from *asura*, 'demon'." (I draw attention to the explanatory figure of the Zodiac added at the end of this paper for further light on my view).

§9. This exclusive and (yet) fundamental trait of Varuṇa's character whereby he appears as a *pāśin* (Binder) is just another version of Varuṇa as the All-Encompasser. It is not the purpose of this paper to establish the writer's conclusions regarding the natural basis of Varuṇa drawn chiefly from the evidence of the RgVeda. I state them briefly here in so far as they tend to explain and emphasize the character of Varuṇa as the 'All-Enveloper', 'the All-Pervader'. This aspect of his character easily explains the towering and pre-eminent position of Varuṇa as

³⁴ Ibid., p. 122, l. 31 ff.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 123, l. 50 ff.

a *samrāj*, when the supreme laws of the physical and moral world are contemplated. In keeping with this aspect, is his rôle, as the custodian of *ṛtā*, which is almost a deity in the RġVeda, which like a *pāśa* or wheel circumscribes the Universe, regulates it and keeps it in its place, the physical basis of which is the belt of the Zodiac which no luminary (*deva*) may deviate from (as shown hereafter) and the penalty for transgression whereof, is ensnarement by the shackles of non-*ṛtā* or darkness and death. This is one side or explanation of Varuṇa's all-encompassing character. Another important side or explanation (unfortunately missed by most scholars) is Varuṇa's *overlordship of the Waters which are far more intimately connected with him in the RġVeda* than is generally supposed. The nature of these 'Waters' requires to be carefully investigated into. The researches of WARREN³⁶ and TILAK³⁷ in this connection have not received the attention they deserve. My own conclusions (which may form the subject of a separate paper) in which I agree with the two scholars in so far as the *cosmic character* of the so-called 'Waters' is concerned, but in which I differ from Tilak as regards the natural basis of Varuṇa in the RġVeda may be briefly indicated here :—

(1) The Waters are both *terrestrial and celestial*. The attributes of the latter in the RV. cannot all be satisfactorily accounted for, on the hypothesis that they are rain-waters.

(2) The release of the Waters and the breaking forth of the Dawn or the emergence of light are described as simultaneous events (I. 164. 51 etc.).

(3) In fact, the movement of the Waters and the spreading forth of the rays of light spring up from the same source and follow the same path (of *ṛtā*) *simultaneously*.

(4) These Waters are described as moved *upwards* by Indra when set free for movement, *simultaneously with the luminaries* after the killing of Vṛtra (II. 15.6 ; I. 80.5, 32 etc.). Their downward movement is, of course, described as for example in VIII.69.11 where the Seven Rivers are said to flow into the jaws of Varuṇa as into a surging abode or ocean.

³⁶ *Paradise Found* (10th edn.) 1893.

³⁷ *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, 233-96.

(5) The world is said to have consisted of nothing but undifferentiated Waters in the beginning (X.82.6; 129.3). These Waters were coeval with the world (X.30.6).

(6) The cosmic circulation of the celestial Waters and the simultaneity of the free flow of the Waters and the rising of the Dawn are unambiguously stated in the Avesta.³⁸

(7) This theory of the cosmic circulation of the Waters is not peculiar to Indo-Iranian mythology but is found in Greek and Egyptian mythologies also. In other words the celestial waters which pervaded the regions, above, below and around the earth were supposed by the RgVedic poets to be the stuff out of which the Universe was created (X.129.1 and 3 ff.). The sum up, the theory propounded by WARREN and TILAK that the (Celestial) Waters or watery vapours [from which the world was supposed to have been created according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XI.1.6.1; Aitareya Br. I.1. and the Mēnussmṛti I.9] were envisaged by the RgVedic poets as something like the nebulous mass of matter or the ether of modern scientists, has suffered undeserved neglect.

§10. Unfortunately TILAK did not see the logical conclusion of this theory, namely, that a complete and satisfactory explanation of the RgVedic account of Varuṇa as the All-Pervader or All-Encompasser was thus forthcoming from his rulership of the all-pervading, (ether-like) Cosmic Waters! Carried a little too far by his Arctic theory, (which, incidentally, will have to be more carefully scrutinized before being brushed aside) he ventures the suggestion that 'Mitra and Varuṇa were originally conceived as two correlated deities, for, according to our theory, they would represent half-year-long light and darkness in the Paradise of the Aryan race.³⁹ This is clearly impossible, because in the RV., Varuṇa, true to his form, as the All-Encompasser rules over both the spheres—that of light as well as darkness, night and day. It is true that certain grand cosmical functions such as those of supporting or establishing heaven and earth or creating the two worlds, producing the sun and placing it in the sky and making a path for it or spreading out the earth,

³⁸ *Vendidad*, XXI 4-5; *Yasht* VI.2 and 3 etc.

³⁹ *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, p. 351.

the sky and the two worlds are attributed to a number of gods without distinction but the following distinctive traits of Varuṇa rule out the whittling down of his dominion to darkness or night however long! For example, Varuṇa sets in motion the day-star (the Sun) in both directions (*dvitā*) westward by day and eastward at night (VII.86.1^{cd}).⁴⁰ This, indeed, is what is meant by his double dominion (*dvitā rāṣṭram*) in IV.42.1^a ⁴¹ and by the reference to him as the doubly Crafty' (*dvitā māyīn*) in VII.28.4^{cd} ⁴² i.e. one whose occult power (in a good sense) works both above and below the earth in the realm of light as well as in that of darkness. If Varuṇa is described as embracing the nights (VIII.41.3) or as exulting in the world of the Pitrs with Yama (X.14.7), he is also described as 'taking his stand in the firmament and measuring out the earth, using the Sun as a measure' (V.85.5)^{cd} ⁴³. But this is not left to just an inference from the co-ordination of any two separate passages. In VII.88.2^{cd} ⁴⁴, he is expressly stated to be the overlord of both-light (*svār*) and darkness (*āndhak*).

§11. The following passages illustrate the ubiquitous, the omnipresent character of Varuṇa. He is four-faced (*cāturanīkaḥ* in V.48.5^{ab})⁴⁵ i.e. evidently having faces in all directions. He measures off around (*pārī...mamē*) the ends of heaven and earth with a cord (*rāśmīnā* VIII.25.18^{ab})⁴⁶. Here the 'measuring off around' is significant in showing the encircling and encompassing nature of the god.

§12. The paradox of this double or all-embracing presence of Varuṇa and the mysterious power whereby he (and Mitra) can perform miracle like 'binding with bonds not made of rope' (VII.84.2^{ab})⁴⁷ etc. explain why the epithet *māyīn* is chiefly applicable to him among the gods. Miraculous feats and occult knowledge are attributed to him. The downward opening of the water-skin or barrel bursting through an

⁴⁰ *prā nākam ṛṣvān nunude bhāntām dvitā nāḥsatram paprāthac caś hūma* || VII.86.1^c

⁴¹ *māma dvitā rāṣṭram kṣatriyaṇya* || IV.42.2a.

⁴² *prāti yac cāṣṭe āntam anenā āva dvitā vāruṇo māyī naḥ sāt* || VII.28.4^{cd}.

⁴³ *māneneva tasthivān antārikṣe vī yā mamē pṛthivīm sūryeṇa* || V.85.5^{cd}.

⁴⁴ *svār yād āsmann adhipā u āndho ' bhī mā vāpur dśāye nīnīyāt* || VII.88.2^{cd}.

⁴⁵ *sā jihvāyā cāturanīkaḥ pñjate* | V.48.5^a.

⁴⁶ *pārī yā rāśmīnā divā ' nīān mamē pṛthivyāḥ* | VIII.25.18^{ab}.

⁴⁷ *yāu setībhīr arajjūbhīḥ stnīthāḥ* | VII.84.2^b.

upon heaven and earth and the firmament (V.85.3); the spectacle of the streams constantly pouring water into, but yet not inundating even one *samudrā* (V.85.6); his strange association with that bizarre crowd—the scorpion, the crawling creature, the nesting bird and the swelling animal (VII.50.1), the lament of his praiser 'overtaken by thirst even in the midst of water (VII.89.4), his capacity to see even with closed eye-lids (VII.25.9) are a few of the puzzling facts and feats mentioned of Varuṇa alone or with Mitra. The reference to the secret meeting of Mitra and Varuṇa and their occult power in VII.60.10^b, Varuṇa's special knowledge of the secret names of the Dawns (VIII.41.5), his appellation 'mystery sea (*samudra*)' (VIII.41.8^a) further deepen the atmosphere of mystery and secrecy about Varuṇa. No wonder, the fitting epithet *māyin* for which the variant, *yakṣin* is once used (in VII.88.6) is chiefly applied to Varuṇa among the gods: VI.48.14; VII.28.4; X.99.10; 147.5.

We have touched upon these aspects of Varuṇa here, as encompassing power, craft (*māyā*) and secrecy are just the attributes we should expect in a *pāśin* (i.e. one who uses a noose). Having thus established that the *pāśa* concept is fundamental to Varuṇa's character as the Restrainer or All-Binder, we now turn to his intimate connection with *ṛtā*, so as to lead up to our main proposition regarding the physical basis of that concept.

II. *Ṛtā*, THE SPECIAL CHARGE OF VARUṆA.

§13. The very special relation of Varuṇa to *ṛtā* is so universally admitted that some more important aspects only of this relationship may be pointed out here. Varuṇa alone or with Mitra and (or) other gods like Aryaman, or with the *Ādityas* is called *ṛtāvan*, possessor or lord of *ṛtā* in I.136.4^d; 151.4^b; II.27.4^d; 28.6^b; III.56.8^a; IV.1.2^a; 42.4^a; V.65.2^d; 67.4^b; VII.49.7^b; 62.3^b; 66.13^a; VIII.25.4^c; 7^a, 8^a. Furtherers or Prosperers of *ṛtā* (*ṛtāvrdh*) is an epithet applied to Mitra and Varuṇa jointly in I.2.8^a; II.41.4^b; III.62.18^d; V.65.2^d; VII.66.13^a, 19^d. Mitra, Varuṇa and Aditi, in VI.51.3^a, and Mitra and Varuṇa in V.63.1^a; VII.64.2^a are described as Protectors of *ṛtā* (*ṛtasya gopā*). Varuṇa, Mitra and Agni receive the appellation 'ṛtā-minded' (*ṛtā-dhātayah*) in VI.141.10^d; Mitra and Varuṇa are designated the 'cherishers of *ṛtā* (*ṛtā-sprśah*) in V.67.4^a. The title *ṛtāydn* (acting according to *ṛtā*) is used of Varuṇa in V.41.1^a; VII.87.1^c. Varuṇa is called *ṛtācīt* (intent upon *ṛtā*) in VII.85.4^a and 'the leader (neti) of *ṛtā* in VII.40.4^a,

§14. This special connection, showing as it were that *ṛtā* is the special charge of Varuṇa is indicated in other ways also. *Ṛtā* is expressly stated as *their own* or to belong to Mitra and Varuṇa in I.151.6^a and V.62.1^a. The streams are said to follow Varuṇa's *ṛtā* (II.28.4^{ab}).⁴⁸ Varuṇa says he alone (not Indra) held heaven in the seat of *ṛtā* (IV.42.4 see section 22). Mitra and Varuṇa are said to bring success to *ṛtā* (I.151.3^c). The path of *ṛtā* is said to be their own (VII.65.3^d).⁴⁹ This relationship is almost taken for granted in the RV., so that Agni is said to become Varuṇa when he goes for *ṛtā* (X.8.5^{ab}).⁵⁰ Mitra and Varuṇa are said to proclaim or herald *ṛtā* (I.151.4^{ab};⁵¹ VII.25.4^c). VI.51.1⁵² is an interesting verse! It expresses first the well-known idea that the Sun is the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa and then adds that it (the Sun) is the bright face of *ṛtā*! This amounts to saying (*poetically though*) that the face of *ṛtā* is the eye of the two gods! That this is no poetic fancy but a hard fact is seen from V.66.1⁵³ where Varuṇa is actually called *ṛtā-paśas*, [i.e. having *ṛtā* as his (ornamented) form].

§15. Varuṇa's distinctive—nay, almost exclusive—epithet *dṛtāvarat* (one who maintains the *vrātās*) is evidence of the same close connection of Varuṇa with *ṛtā*. After a detailed examination verse by verse, of a the *vrātā*-passages in the RV., I have shown, in my monograph 'A about *vrātā* in the RgVeda, (B. D. C. R. I. III 4) that if the literary evidence unfolding the semantic evolution of the meanings of the word in the RgVeda is at all to be relied on and if the hints dropped by the RgVedic poets themselves regarding the derivation of the word *vrā* [as in I.183.3^b; *anu vrātāni vārtate*, where *vrātāni* is the cognate object of the intransitive verb *vrt*, allied to it, etymologically] are to be our guide, then the word must be derived from the root *vrt* ('to proceed', 'turn', 'roll', 'move on', 'turn round' etc.) rather than from $\sqrt{vṛ}$, 'to enclose, cover or guard' or from $2\sqrt{vṛ}$ to choose. Thus the prima-

48 *ṛtām śindhavo vārunasya gantī* || II.28.4^b.

49 *ṛtāya mitravaruṇa pathā vām* || VII.65.3^c.

50 *bhūva vāruno yād ṛtāya vēdī* || X.8.5^b.

51 *ṛtāvānāv ṛtām ā ghaṣātho bhāt* || I.151.4^b (b = VII.25.4^c.)

52 *ud u tyāc cakṣur māhi mitrāyor ām eti priyām vārunayor ādadhām* ||
ṛtāya śuci darśatām ānikam rakṣo nā divā āditi vy ādyant || VI.51.1.

53 *vārunāya ṛtāpaśas dadhītā prāyase mahi* || V.66.1^{cd}.

meaning of the word in the R̥gVeda and especially in the compound *dhrtāvratā* is, ' (fixed) passage, way, (circular) path, (settled) route, (beaten) track, channel or bed.' Now these *vrātās* are, in 1.65.2, mentioned as those of (i.e. *lying along*) *ṛtā* (*ṛtāsya vrātā*) and must therefore signify 'the paths (of the luminaries) extending along *ṛtā* (the zodiac, as I propose to show later). What should be more natural then that Varuṇa, the special custodian of *ṛtā* should be exclusively called the 'Keeper of the *vrātās* or routes laid by him for the luminaries along the *ṛtā* or in short, *dhrtāvratā* ?

III. THE ZODIAC-THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF ṚTĀ (COSMIC ORDER).

§15. What is this *ṛtā*? MACDONELL gives the following beautiful and succinct account of the meanings⁵⁴ accepted so far. "The cosmic order or law prevailing in nature is recognised under the name of *ṛta* (properly the 'course' of things), which is considered to be under the guardianship of the highest gods. The same word also designates 'order' in the moral world as truth and 'right' and in the religious world as sacrifice or 'rite'". The last meaning has an Avestan counterpart in 'aša', order, which is one of the many identical terms connected with the ritual, in the R̥gVeda and the Avesta.

There is no doubt that this is a correct account of the meanings of *ṛtā*, in a fairly large number of passages in the RV. My proposition is that there is an equally large number of passages there, which betray (what we may call) the primary or the fundamental physical sense of the word' which represents (in other words) the natural or physical basis of the very abstract (and therefore, very likely, not the original) conception of *ṛtā* as 'Cosmic- or World-Order'. If the Shining Ones (*devas*, or luminaries like the Sun, Dawn etc.) are described frequently as born in *ṛtā*, if the path (*pāth* or *pathī*), the womb (*yóni*), the seat or abode (*sádana* or *dhāman*), the peak or altitude (*śṛṅga*), the bottom (*budhnā*), the cavity or well (*khā*), the ridge or top (*sānu*) and finally the wheel (*cakrá*) of *ṛtā* are mentioned time and again in the R̥gVeda, this should normally be accepted as clear and unmistakable evidence of the original *spatial* character of *ṛtā*, which, from all these indications appears to have described a well-defined figure in the geometry of the R̥gVedic universe, holding within

⁵⁴ *Vedic Mythology*, 11.

it heaven and earth and circumscribing the movements of the luminaries (*devas*)! There is no reason why we should look upon the use of these terms with *ṛtā* in every passage as just one metaphor heaped on another upon the devoted head of a purely abstract conception like 'Order' 'Right' or 'Rite'. If it is a recognized principle that in religious thought, generally, the process of development or evolution is from the external, the physical, the concrete, and the natural to the internal, moral, and the abstract, if the Vedic gods are acknowledgedly nearer to the (or *natural*) phenomena from which they have developed, than the gods of any other Indo-European people, why should we suppose that the natural order of evolution is suspended in the case of *ṛtā* which has the rank of a divinity in the RV. (as will be shown later) and take for granted that a full-fledged abstraction like *ṛtā* or 'Cosmic Order' has been with the RġVedic poets from the beginning? I have examined this problem briefly in my paper 'Ṛtā in the RġVeda' (*Silver Jubilee Volume A B O R*), wherein I have arrived at the conclusion that the primary sense of the word appearing alongside of and yet clearly distinguishable (in the RġVeda), from its widely accepted secondary sense or senses describe above is the physical one; that *ṛtā* or the path of *ṛtā* is the path of the Zodiac or the imaginary belt or zone in the heavens within which the apparent motions of the *devas*—the Sun, Moon and the principal planets are confined and which is dotted by the *Nakṣatras*. The semantic development of the word is exactly parallel to that of the word *devā*:—*deva* = I. The shining One, II. World-ruler, III. God; *ṛtā* = The path of the luminaries or the Zodiac, II. World order, II. Right, rite. If I, here, touch upon the main arguments advanced in the paper I do so only to present the *new evidence* on the point, which I have come across since then, in my study of the RġVeda.

§16. Though the important part played by *ṛtā* in the RV. is recognized by scholars, the full extent of it does not seem to have been realized. It has not been sufficiently appreciated that it enjoys the rank of a Divinity in the RV! The mighty (*mahād*) *ṛtā* figures as an independent deity among deities like Aditi, Dyāvapṛthivī, Indra, Viṣṇu and Savitr invoked for protection in X.66.4.⁵⁵ In I.137.2^{add},⁵⁶ we read, 'Also for y

⁵⁵ *āditiṃ dyāvāpṛthivīṃ ṛtām mahād īndrāviṃ vā marūtaḥ svāḥ bhātā* | X.66.4^{ab}.

⁵⁶ *utā vām udāso budhī sāḥśām sūryasya rāśmībhiḥ* | *sutō mitrāya vāraṇāya pītē* (x) *cātur ṛtāya pītāye* || I.137.2^{add} (x = IX.17.8^c).

'Two, at the awakening of the Dawn, simultaneously with the rays of the Sun, (the Soma juice) is pressed, for Mitra and Varuṇa to drink (from), the delicious (juice) for *ṛta* to drink (from). 1.137.2^a is identical with IX.17.8^c where also *ṛtā* similarly receives divine honours. It is impossible to translate *ṛtā* in these two passages as 'sacrifice or rite' or as 'Right'. Similarly I.75.5^b 57 can only be translated, in my opinion, as 'Adore the gods and the lofty *ṛtā*' and not as 'sacrifice to the gods (a sacrifice conforming to) the great *ṛtā* as OLDENBERG⁵⁸ has done or as 'Adore the lofty law (Gesetz) of the gods' as GELDNER⁵⁹ has done, such renderings being due to the non-recognition of the divine status-the godly rank-of *ṛtā* which entitled it to the offering of Soma and sacrificial worship generally. In V.66.5^a and 68.1^c again, the *brhād ṛtām* ranks (in my view) as a deity alongside of Mitra and Varuṇa (see also VII.39.1^d).

§19. Quite a number of gods are said to be born of or produced from *ṛtā*. For example, Agni (I.36.19; 65.10; 144.7; 189.6; II.20.3; III.6.10; VI.13.3), Soma (IX.108.8), the Maruts (III.54.13; V.61.14), Brhaspati (II.23.15) and the Ādityas (VII.66.13) are said to be *ṛtā-jāta* or *ṛtā-prajāta*. In such cases, unless the risk of error was avoided (as is done often by Oldenberg)⁶⁰ by leaving the word untranslated, strange renderings such as 'well-born', 'punctually born',⁶¹ result. Finally, when the Dawns are called *ṛtā-jāta-satyāḥ*, '(true or) abiding because born of *ṛtā*' in IV.51.7^b, non-recognition of the almost god-like character of *ṛtā* has led to renderings like 'punctually true'⁶² which leave no trace of *ṛtā* for all practical purposes! My contention is that *ṛtā* the birth-place of the gods (as is implied in these epithets) has as strong a title as Aditi to be reckoned as a deity in the *RgVeda*!

⁵⁷ *vājā devāṃ ṛtām brhāt* | I.75.5^b.

⁵⁸ SBE, XLVI, 95.

⁵⁹ *Der RigVeda, übersetzt und erläutert*, §9.

⁶⁰ SBE XLVI.

⁶¹ SBE XXXII, 357.

⁶² *Übersetzung* (see Footnote 59 above).

⁶³ *Macdonell A Vedic Reader*, 97.

§20. If *ṛtā* is (thus) a deity, an investigation into its natural basis becomes as imperative as in the case of any other deity unless it is relegated to the class of deities whose nature is founded on abstraction which (as we saw above) is not necessary. Such an investigation must first be undertaken here as the results thereof will throw light on the basis of the *pāśa*-conception which is the main theme of this paper.

Ṛtā is derived from the root *r*, to go, with the suffix *ta*, which is employed almost exclusively to form past participles, chiefly with passive but sometimes with intransitive meaning. The more general and original sense of this suffix is preserved in some words used as adjectives or as substantives with concrete meaning such as our *ṛtā*, which should therefore primarily mean '(something) gone over (correctly)' or better '(the settled or ordered) course of going', (followed by the luminaries). It is my contention that this *primary physical* sense is well-preserved in the RV, in the many passages which speak of the path of *ṛtā*—an undoubted indication of its *spatial* character unless one supposes that it is a figurative application. Such a supposition, though not impossible, is neither necessary nor natural in a large number of passages, which we propose to examine now.

§21. In I.124.3^{cd} 64 (= V.80.4^d), the Dawn clothing herself in lustr follows correctly the path of *ṛtā* and does not miss the directions as one who knows (the way). 'For the broad (Sun-light), a still broader passage was made manifest—the path of *ṛtā* was directed with the cords (ray) of *ṛtā* [I.136.2^{ab} 65; here *ṛtāsyā*, though occurring only once can be construed with *pānṭhāh* as well as with *raśmībhiḥ*]. X.80.6^c 66 specifies this path as the *gāndharvī pathyā* or the path of the Gandharvas which shows that it is *high up* in the heavens which alone is the scene of the movements and activity of the Gandharvas. In VIII.22.7^{ab} 67 the *Āśvins* (matutinal deities) are implored to approach along the path of *ṛtā*. I.46.11⁶⁸ is important: 'The path of *ṛtā* is (now ready) for cross

64 *ṛtāsyā pānṭhām ānu eti sādhuḥ pūjānātīva tā dīśo mināti* || I.124.3^{cd}. (= V.80.4^d)

65 *ādāśī gātūr arāve vāriyasī pānṭhā ṛtāsyā sām ayaṁśala raśmībhiḥ tñ* I.136.2^{ab}.

66 *agnir gāndharvīm pathyām ṛtāsyāgnō gāyātūr ghṛtā ā nīṣattā* || X.80.6^c.

67 *ūpa na vājiniवासु गतं रतास्य पथिभिः* || VIII.22.7^{ab}.

68 *ābhūd u pārām etave pānṭhā ṛtāsyā sādhyatā* |

ādāśī vī svatīr divāb || I.46.11.

safely to the (other) bank; the path (lit. Channel) of heaven has become visible' (the context in v. 10 being a description of sunrise). Saramā recovers the cows by going along *rtā* (V.45.7)⁶⁹ or by going along the path of *rtā* (V.45.8^d).⁷⁰ The cows are the beams of the Dawn (compare also X.67.5; 68.9 and the whole hymn X.108).

In VIII.12.37¹ this path is specified as the one whereon Indra urged on Sindhu and the great waters as if they were cars. Now when it is remembered that Indra places the Sun in the sky for all men to see and simultaneously releases the waters, after killing Vṛtra (I.51.4; 52.8), we understand the nature of this path. It is the same that is described in VIII.31.13⁷² as 'easy to traverse' (*sugāh*) having Varuna Mitra and Aryaman as guardians and also in II.27.6⁷³ as thornless and *sugāh* and as belonging to the same three deities. It is again, the same path or paths (though not expressly stated as *rtāsya*) which the same Three—the Ādityas are said to dig out (*rādanti*) for Sūrya in VII.60.4⁷⁴ and which Varuna is said to have dug out (*rādanti*) for Sūrya and the Oceanic floods of rivers (VII.87.1^b),⁷⁵ Finally attention may be drawn to a beautiful and clear description of these paths in I.35.11:⁷⁶ Protect us by (coming along) those time-honoured paths, O Savitṛ, dustless and well-laid in the firmament and easy to traverse (*sugabhī*).

§ It is but natural that the visible overhead part of the path of *rtā* traversed by the luminaries during their bright career by day should be poetically termed 'the straightest path or paths of *rtā*' as in I.79.3^b.⁷⁷ The straight

⁶⁹ *rtām yañ varāmā gā avindad* || V.45.7^c.

⁷⁰ *rtāsya pathā sarāmā vidad gāh* || V.45.8^d.

⁷¹ *yēna sindhum mahīr apō rāthām tva pracod'yaḥ |
pānthām rtāsya yātave tām imāhe* || VIII.12.3.

⁷² *yāthā na mitrō aryamā vāruṇaḥ sánti gopāh |
sugā rtāsya pānthāh* || VIII.31.13.

⁷³ *sugo hí vo aryaman mitra pānthā anikṣarō vāruṇa sādhuḥ āsti* | II.27.6^b.

⁷⁴ *yāsmā ādityā ādhvano rādanti mitrō aryamā vāruṇaḥ sajōgāh* || VII.60.4^d.

⁷⁵ *rādati pathō vāruṇaḥ sūryāya prārṇāsi samudr'yā nadīnām* | VII.87.1^b.

⁷⁶ *yē te pānthāh savitāh pūrvyāso 'reṇāvah sūktā antarikṣe |
tēbhīr no ādyā pathibhiḥ sugabhī rāksā ca no ādhi ca brūhi deva* || I.35.11.

⁷⁷ *yād im rtāsya pāyasa pīyāno nāyann rtāsya pathibhiḥ rājisiḥatḥ* | I.79.3^b.

sailing ship of *ṛtā* mounted by Soma Pavamāna (IX.89.2^b)⁷⁸ is probably just another version of this very 'straight path of *ṛtā*'. The *naú* or ship boarded by Vasiṣṭha in the company of Varuṇa (VII.88.3^{ab} 79 and 4^b)⁸⁰ is very likely this ship of *ṛtā* and may be the same *naú* that Varuṇa abiding in the ocean, knows about (I.25.7^c)⁸¹.

I do not think that it is possible to brush aside all this evidence of the physical character of the path of *ṛtā* and to say that these details are just subtle metaphorical variations, superimposed on the various aspects of that *very prosaic abstraction*—the Course of Cosmic Order!

§22. Another indication of its *spatial* character, nay, its *exact location* is seen in passages which describe the seat or abode (*sādana*, *sādas*, *dhāman*, or *duroṇā*) of *ṛtā*. The Dawns wake up from the seat of *ṛtā* (IV.51.8)⁸². Varuṇa holds heaven in the seat of *ṛtā* (IV.42.4)⁸³. Indra is invoked to come to the rescue (of the suppliant) from the farthest distance, (i.e.) from the seat of *ṛtā* in IV.21.3⁸⁴. The Rudras (i.e. the Maruts or Storm-gods) are said to have prospered or grown great in the abodes of *ṛtā* (in II.34.13^{ab}).⁸⁵ Similarly Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman, the sons of Aditi are said to have grown great in the seat (*duroṇē*) of *ṛtā* (VII.60.5^{cd}).⁸⁶ An almost convincing passage is I.123.9⁸⁷ where we are told Uṣas, emerging from out of the Darkness and approaching the appointed place day after day, never misses the habitation (*dhāman*) of *ṛtā*. If this verse is read in the light of (the already quoted) I.124.3^{cd} (=V.80.4^{cd})⁸⁸ where Uṣas

78 *rājā sindhūmān avasīṣṭa vāsa ṛtasya nāvam āruhad rājīṣṭhām* | IX.89.2^{ab}.

79 *ā yād ruhāṣa vāruṇas ca nāvam prā yāt samudrām itāyāva mādhyam* | VII.88.3^{ab}

80 *vāsīṣṭham ha vā ugo nāvya ādhād īṣim cakāra svāpā mahobhith* | VII.88 4^b.

81 *vēda nāvāḥ samadrīyaḥ* || I.25.7^c.

82 *ṛtasya devīḥ sādasa budhānā gāvān nā sārgā upāsa jaranā* || IV.51.8^{cd}.

83 *ahām apō apinvam ukṣamānā dhārāyam divam sādana ṛtasya* || IV.42.4^{ab}.

84 *ā yātvo indro. . . āvase na marūtvoṇ parāvāto vā sādaneṇ ṛtasya* || IV.21.3.

85 *tē kṣonibhith aruṇabhih nāñibhith rudrā ṛtasya sādaneṣu vāvṛdhuh* || II.34.13^{ab}.

86 *imā ṛtasya vāvṛdhur duranē śagmāsaḥ putrā āditer ādadbhāḥ* || VII.60.5^{cd}.

87 *jānaty āhnaḥ prathamāsya nāma sukrā kṣyāt ājantīṣa evitīlī* |
ṛtasya yāṣā nā mināti dhāmāhar-ahar niṣkṛtām ācāranī || I.123.9.

88 *ṛtasya pāñihām ānu eti sādhiḥ profānāṣva nā dīso minōti* || I.124.3^{cd}.

(= V.80.4^{cd}).

is described as following the path of *ṛtá* carefully and (thus) not missing the directions, it should follow that the location (*dhāman*) of *ṛtá* is coextensive with the directions! In IV.5.9⁸⁹, the Sun, the glorious face of (heavenly) splendours [(*māhām*), gen. pl. of *māh* = 'splendour (heavenly)'] is said to be shining in the region (*padā*) of *ṛtá*.

§23. The following passages speak of the *yóni* (the womb) of *ṛtá*. 'The (Angiras-) host came forth first in the womb of *ṛtá*. . ' (IV.1.12⁹⁰). If it is now remembered that the Angiras-host, is shown by the context to have rent the mountain and delivered the cows or dawns (compare vv. 13 seqq and IV.2.15 seq.), the location of the womb of *ṛtá* becomes clear. This location is identical with that of the womb of *rājas* and that of the bottom of *māh* [which as I have tried to establish in B. D. C. R. I. II, is a substantive meaning heavenly light], because though *rajas*, *māh* and *ṛtá* are all different, they are all bottomed on the same point in space (lying on the belt of the Zodiac = *ṛtāsya yónau*) which marks the era of freedom and illumination for the luminaries and which is their birth-place, as it were. The Sun observes heaven and earth rejoicing in the womb of *ṛtá* (III.54.6⁹¹). The same fact is expressed in another way in X.65.8⁹²; ⁹² 'Heaven and Earth share a common above in the womb of *ṛtá*. X.8.3⁹³ tells us that the Red Ones (the Dawns) enjoy themselves in the womb of *ṛtá*.

§24. Direct statements regarding the well-defined configuration of *ṛtá* in the geometry of the universe will be found broadcast in the RgVeda. The peak or horn (*śṛṅga*) of *ṛtá* is mentioned in VIII.86.5⁹⁴: 'Through (i.e. on the strength of) *ṛtá*, does Savitr work; he extends far and wide the (horn or) peak of *ṛtá*.' This evidently means that Savitr's ever-widening

⁸⁹ *idám u tyán máhi māhām ánikam. . .* |

ṛtāsya padé ádhi dídyānam. . . || IV.5.9.

⁹⁰ *prá śárdha āta praihanám vipanyāñ ṛtāsya yónā vṛṣabhāsya nīle* | IV.1.12^{ab}.

⁹¹ *kaśír nreākṣā abhi śim acaṣṭa .tāsya yónā víghṛte mādanti* | III.54.6^b.

⁹² *ṛtāsya yónā kṣayataḥ sámaśasā* |

dyāvāprthivī vāruṇāya sáurate || X.65.8^b.

⁹³ *tāya pátmann áruṣír ásvabhudhnā ṛtāsya yónau tanvā juṣanta* || X.8.3^{cd}.

⁹⁴ *ṛtēṇa devābḥ savitṛ sāmāyata ṛṇāsya śṛṅgam urvityā ví paprathe* | VIII. 86.5^{ab}.

circle of light, simultaneously makes the extent of *ṛtā* more and more manifest. The bottom (*budhnā*) of *ṛtā* is the place wherefrom the Sun urges forth the Dawns (III.61.7⁹⁵) and finally himself advances into heaven and earth. II.28.5⁹⁶ speaks of the fount or well (or cavity *khām*) of *ṛtā*. The *Sānu* (surface, top or ridge) of *ṛtā* is spoken of in X.123.2,⁹⁷ and 3⁹⁸ in a context (: 'Vena shone high up on the top of *ṛtā*') which leaves no doubt as to its physical character.

§25. If the Zodiac is thus the natural basis of the conception of *ṛtā* its character as a girdle, a belt or a zone should (we expect) be shadowed forth in the RV. A clear indication of its belt-like encircling expanse is seen in the representation of it as a wheel: 'The wheel of *ṛtā* (*ṛtāsy cakram*) with its twelve spokes—it never ages—turns round and round heaven; here (i.e. within the wheel), O Agni, the seven-hundred and twenty (720) sons abide in pairs' (I.164.11).⁹⁹ The 12 spokes at naturally the 12 months. The 720 'sons' standing in pairs are the 360 days and 360 nights paired together. An explanation of the term 'sons' applied to them is found in V.85.5.¹⁰⁰ where the Maruts are described thus, 'Like the spokes of a wheel, no one is last; like the day they are born again and again) *prā-pra jāyante*'. The reference in I.25.8¹⁰¹ to the 12 months 'endowed with (the) progeny (of days and nights)' (*prajāvataḥ nāsāḥ*) also throws light. What more natural than that the wheel of the year resulting from the Sun's movements along the Zodiacal belt, completing a whole round or circle in the course of a year of 720 days and nights and 12 months should be described as the wheel of *ṛtā*? This same wheel is described in v. 2¹⁰² of this very hymn

⁹⁵ *ṛtāsyā budhnā uśāsam iṣagyon vjā mahī rōdasi ā vivesa* | III.61.7^b.

⁹⁶ *rdhyāma te varuṇa khām ṛtāsyā* | II.28.5^b.

⁹⁷ *ṛtāsyā sānāv ādhi vjāpi bhrāt* || X.123.2^c.

⁹⁸ *ṛtāsyā sānāv ādhi cakramāṣāḥ* || X.123.3^c.

⁹⁹ *dvādaśāraṇa nahī tāj jāyāya vāvartī cakram pari dyām ṛtāsyā* |
ā putrā agne mithunāsa ātra sapta śatāni vīmśatīś ca tasthūḥ || I.164.11.

¹⁰⁰ *arā ivēd ācaramā āheva prā-pra jāyante ākavā māhobhīḥ* | V.85.5^b.

¹⁰¹ *vāda māsō dhṛtāvratō dvādaśa prajāvataḥ* | I.25.8^b.

¹⁰² (*saptā yuñjanti*) *rātham śkakacakraṁ (śko āśvo vahati saptaśamā)* |
tīrānābhi cakram ajāram anarvāt yātēmā vīśvā bhūsvanādhī tasthūḥ || I.164

constituting a one-wheel chariot with the three naves (i.e. the three seasons) unaging and containing within it all beings (*viśvā bhūvanāni*). Verse 48th¹⁰³ (of the same hymn) also mentions this same wheel with 12 felines (12 months) and three naves (seasons) and the 360 spokes (lit. pins) that never get loose [here, by 'spokes' the 360 (twenty-four-hour) days are meant]. Verses 13th and 14th¹⁰⁴ also deal with the same theme. Probably this same wheel (of *ṛtā*) is referred to in VII.63.2¹⁰⁵, where we are told that the sun rises, rolling round the self-same wheel' and in VI.54.3¹⁰⁶ describing the wheel of Pūṣan. The 'One felly (*pavīh*) of Mitra and Varuṇa rolling on hither' (V.62.2¹⁰⁷) is another version of the wheel of *ṛtā*, the latter being specially associated with the two gods.

§26. I further suspect that the zonal character of *ṛtā* (as the Zodiac) with its two halves—the one above and the other below the earth—apparently meeting each other at two points on opposite sides in the East and the West, have been referred to in the language of poetry, as 'supporting or serving or closing up with each other' in the following passages :— V.62.1¹⁰⁸ : By *ṛtā* is your *ṛtā* closed, O Mitra and Varuṇa, there, where the steeds of the Sun are unyoked (*vinucānti*)'. It does not matter (for our purpose) whether they are taken as unyoked for travel or for rest (there is a difference of opinion among scholars on the point). In my opinion, the upper half of *ṛtā* which meets the lower half at two points—the one in the East, where the luminaries start their bright career of freedom being called Aditi and the exactly opposite point in the West where the luminaries are apparently caught in the bondage of darkness being called diti—is here referred to by *ṛtēna*, the lower half by *ṛtām*.

¹⁰³ *dvādaśa pradhāyāś cakrām ekam trīṇ. nābhyaṇi kṣā u tāt ciketa |*

tāsmīn sākṣm trīśatā nā sāhāvā 'rpitāḥ saṣṭir nā calācalāśaḥ || I.164.48.

¹⁰⁴ *pāncāre cakre parivartamāne tāsmīn ā tasthur bhūvanāni viśvā | I.164.13^{ab}.*

sānemi cakrām ajāraṇ vā vāṛte ; tāsmīn ārpitā bhūvanāni viśvā || I.164.14^a & d.

¹⁰⁵ *saṁānāṇ cakrām paryāvivṛtsan yād etaśo vāhati dhūrjū yuklāḥ || VII.63.2^{cd}.*

¹⁰⁶ *pūṣāś cakrām nā riṣyati nā kṣvā 'sa padhyate |*

nō asya vyathate pavīh || VI.54.3.

¹⁰⁷ *viśvāḥ pinvathāḥ svāsarasya dhēnā ānu vām ēkaḥ pavir ā vavarta || V.62.2^{cd}.*

¹⁰⁸ *ṛtēna ṛtām āpihitaṁ dhruvām vān sūryasya yātra vimucānti āśvān | V.62.1^{ab}.*

A reference to the figure opposite the last page will make the whole thing clear. I advance this construction of this verse and the following ones merely as a theory for the consideration of scholars, the acceptance or rejection of it having nothing to do with my main proposition in this paper. Let us consider in this light the following passages: V.68.4^{ab} 109; 'Serving the *ṛtā* (the upper half?) with the *ṛtā* (lower half?)¹⁰⁹, Mitra and Varuṇa attain their powerful might (*dākṣam āśāte*). V.15.2^{ab} 110; 'By *ṛtā* (the lower half) they have supported the 'supporting' *ṛtā* (the upper half, which may be said to support the world by means of the illumination of the Sun who shines only when he goes along it) in the highest heaven'.... The same might be the implication of phrases like *ṛtēna ṛtāvīdhā* (I.2.8¹¹¹; 23.5¹¹²). 'Strengthening *ṛta* by means of *ṛtā* used of Mitra and Varuṇa and *ṛtēna ṛtāvan* 'possessed of *ṛtā* by means of *ṛtā*, used of Varuṇa in IV.42.4.¹¹³

§27. Finally I draw attention to an extremely interesting and important verse V.62.8¹¹⁴: 'When at the breaking forth of the Dawn, you Two O Mitra and Varuṇa, mount your car-seat (*gārtā*), which is gold-hued and ore-pillared (*āyakaśthūnam*), at the rising of the Sun, you behold from there (*ātaś*, i.e. from the *gārtā*) *āditi* and *dīti*! It must be remembered that the car referred to is often described as a one-wheel one (cf. I.164.2¹¹⁵ and that in any case, the car-seat would be at the very top of the car-wheel, in the highest heaven (i.e. at the zenith). From here alone would it be possible to observe *āditi* and *dīti*, the two points (exactly opposite to each other) of freedom (from darkness) and bondage (through

109 *ṛtām ṛtēna śāpanteṣṭrām dākṣam āśāte* | V.68.4^{ab}

110 *ṛtēna ṛtām dhorānam dhārayanto vajrānyā śāke parame vyaṁ man* | V.15.2^{ab}.

111 *ṛtēno mitrāvoraṇṇo ṛtāvīdhāo ṛtāśrīvā* |
hrātum bhāntam āśāte || I.2.8

112 *ṛtēna yāo ṛtāvīdhāo ṛtāśya jyōtiḥśas pātī*
ā mitrāvāruṇā huve || I.23.5.

113 *ṛtēna putrā āditer ṛtāvotā tribhātā prothayod oī bhātma* | IV.42.4^{cd}.

114 *hiraṇyārūpam usōsāu vyaṁjāo āyakaśthūnam ādītā sūryasya* |
ā rohotha voruṇo mitra gārtam ātāś cakṣāthe āditiḥ dītiḥ ca || V.62.8,

115 See Footnote No. 102.

darkness), in the east and the west respectively, for the Sun and the other luminaries. A reference might be made to the figure opposite the last page for a clear idea of the position referred to. For an explanation of *gárta* and its location and significance, we might compare V.68.5^c 116 'they i.e. Mitra and Varuṇa attain to the high-placed *gárta*', which in its turn is explained by *ṛtām bṛhāt* of V.68.1^c 117 and is the same thing as the scene of their mighty *kṣatrām* among the gods' in V.68.3^c 118 and the '*iṣṛām dakṣam*' of V.68.4b^b 119. Light on this peculiar position in the *gárta* is further thrown by V.62.5^{cd} 120 where we are told Mitra and Varuṇa developing their (full) power (*dhrta-dakṣā*) take their position inside the *gárta*, in the midst of (nourishing or consecrated) foods ('*lāsu antāh*'). The following verse (V.62.6¹²¹) refers to the Two as upholding their dominion (*kṣatrām*) which is reared on a thousand pillars (*sahasra-sthūnam*) protecting the worshipper in the midst of consecrated foods (*lāsu antāh*). Verse 7th¹²² next adding the detail that the supporting pillar is gold-hued and made of ore makes it certain that in all these verses (V.62.5-8 and V.68.1, 3-5) the same pose assumed by Mitra and Varuṇa is under description—the pose of domination (*kṣatrām*) involving the exercise of their will-power (*dakṣam*) inside the *gárta* i.e. on top of the wheel of *ṛtā*, i.e. so high up on the *ṛtā* as to be almost at the Zenith, where-from they could simultaneously observe *āditi* and *diti* as described in V.62.8. I have mentioned here this theory (though it is not an integral part of my main proposition) because it solves (in my opinion) the riddle of the natural basis of Aditi and Diti. We now understand why Aditi is the mother of a group of gods (the *Ādityas*) whose name represents a metonymic formation from hers. The 'Shining ones' in the course of their movement along the *ṛtā* (or the zodiac) reach a point (called

116 *bṛhāntam gārtam āśāte* || V.68.5^c.

117 *māhikṣatrāv ṛtām bṛhāt* || V.68.1^c.

118 *māht vān kṣatrām dev'sa* || V.68.3.

119 See Footnote No. 109.

120 *nāmasvanti dhṛtadakṣādhi gārtē mītrāśāthe varuṇēśāsu antāh* || V.62.5^{cd}.

121 *ākṛaviṣṭā sukṛte paraspā yam trāsāthe varuṇēśāsu antāh |*
rāj' nā kṣatrām āhṇīyomānā sahasrastūnam bibhṛthaḥ sahā devāu | V.62.6.

122 *hiranyanirigī ayo asya sthūṇā v' dhṛjate divy āśvājāniva |*
bhadrē kṣētre nīmīṭṭe tīlote vā sanēma mādhuo ādhiṣṭarīyasya || V.62.7.

Aditi) on the *ṛtā*, in the east, and are immediately born or reborn to a life of light (temporarily suspended) and freedom from the bondage of darkness, and hence are called *Ādityas*. Thus the two prominent characteristics of Aditi, her motherhood and her power of releasing from the bonds of physical suffering and moral guilt as well her connection with light are all satisfactorily explained. The name and conception of Diti are also accounted for in the most natural manner (as shown in a previous section). We now understand why Diti came to be invoked along with other gods to grant what is desirable (VII.15.12)¹²³ and why Agni is besought to grant Diti (IV.2.11^{ed}).¹²⁴ Diti in view of her equally important position on the *ṛtā* has as strong a claim as Aditi has, to the title of 'goddess', though in view of her connection with night and darkness, she naturally came to be neglected in the apportionment of divine honours. She is certainly no mere reflex of Aditi¹²⁵!

IV. *Ṛtā* AS THE PĀŚA OF VARUṆA.

§28. I now examine the evidence that should (in my view) establish the conclusion that *ṛtā* (the belt of the Zodiac), which is the special charge of Varuṇa among the gods represents the physical basis of the conception of his *pāśa* which is fundamental to his character as the All-Binder or All-Encompasser.

In X.92.4¹²⁶, the snaring-net, noose or network of *ṛtā* (*ṛtāsya prāsiti*) receives divine honours being ranked as a deity along with Dyaus, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, etc. The word *prāsiti* occurs frequently. In IV.4.1¹ OLDENBERG¹²⁸ agreeing with GRASSMAN's account in his *Wörterbuch* rende

¹²³ *tvām agne vīrūvad yāsa devās ca savitā bhāgah |*
ādītīś ca dātī vāryam || VII.15.12.

¹²⁴ *rāye ca nah svapatyāya deva dētiīm ca rāsvādītim uruṣya || IV.2.11^{ed}.*

¹²⁵ OLDENBERG, *SBE* 321.

¹²⁶ *ṛtāsya hi prāsitiṛ dyaūr urā vyāca nāmo mahy arāmatīh pānīyastī |*
indra mitra vārunaś sām cikītrirē 'tvo bhāgah savitā pātādakṣasah || X.92.4.

¹²⁷ *kr̥ṣṇośa pājah prāsitiīm nā pṛtho'tṛ yāhī rājevāmavāṁ ībhena |*
tṛpṣvīm ānu prāsitiīm drūpānā 'stāsi aīdhya rakṣasas t̥pīṣṭhath || IV.4.1,

¹²⁸ *SBE* XLVI,

it as 'onslaught'. GELDNER¹²⁹ on IV.4.1 has however, almost delivered judgment, (in my opinion), regarding its meaning when he renders it as 'wurfeschnge' (a noose) and adds in his notes '*prāsiti* is not one word but two; one meaning 'snaring net' (Fanggarn) is to be connected with the root *sā, si*, to bind (employed in IV.4.1) and another meaning 'advance', 'onset' to be connected with *prāsita* in IV.27.4 and X.77.5." A very clear idea of its meaning is given by X.87.11^{ab130}: 'That *yātudhāna* (demon or goblin) who strikes at *ṛtā* with non-*ṛtā* (*ánṛta*)—may he fall triply into your *prāsiti* (ensnaring net)'. The word '*trīh*' (triply) here is a reminder of the triple working of Varuṇa's *pāśa*. He who tries to supersede *ṛtā* with *ánṛta* falls into an ensnaring net (which as we shall see below is made up of the tangled web of *ṛtā* and *ánṛta*, escape from which is possible only by keeping strictly to the path of *ṛtā*).

The thread (*tántu*) of *ṛtā* is described in IX.73.9^{ab131}, as 'extending into the filter (*pavitra*), (i.e.) on to the tip of Varuṇa's tongue'. Though the scene or context here is that of the earthly sacrifice, there is at the same time a suggestion of the thread or cord of (the cosmic figure of) *ṛtā* extending right into the tongue of Varuṇa whose special connection with *ṛtā* is so well-established. It is with this tongue that the four-faced Varuṇa bestirs himself (V.48.5)¹³², which is easily understandable in the light of the preceding verse. Bestirring himself with the tongue is virtually setting into motion the thread or cord of *ṛtā*—which appears to be the instrument *par excellence* of Varuṇa's activity in his capacity as a *yātayāj-jana* (V. 72.2; I.136.3).

There is next the mention of the 'reins' or 'guiding cords' (*raśmī*) of *ṛtā*. I.123.13¹³³ speaks of the Dawn following the (guiding) cords of *ṛtā* and thereby shining forth. 'Agni has taken up the rein (or cord) of *ṛtā* with the strength of his splendour (V.7.3.^{cd}).¹³⁴ Though the context

¹²⁹ *Der RigVeda, übersetzt und erklärt*, 380.

¹³⁰ *trīṇ yātudhānāḥ prāsitīm ta etv ṛtām yó agne ányena hanti* | X.87.11^{ab}

¹³¹ *ṛtāṣya tāntur vītataḥ pavitra ā jihvāyā āgno vāruṇasya māyāyā* || IX.73.9^{ab}.

¹³² See Footnote No. 45.

¹³³ *ṛtāṣya raśmīm anuyācamañā. . . |*
úpo no adyā suhāvā vy ūcch. . . || I.123.13.

¹³⁴ *utā dyumnāṣya rávana ṛtāṣya raśmīm ā dade* || V.7.3^{cd}.

here points to the terrestrial form of Agni, there is here a side-glance at Agni's celestial form and a play on the double meaning of *ṛtá* (earthly = rite and celestial = the zodiac) may have been intended, it being doubtful in many passages, which of Agni's aspects — terrestrial or celestial — is intended! We have already¹³⁵ discussed I.136.2 where there is the description of the path of *ṛtá* being directed or controlled by the reins or cords of *ṛtá*. Again in VIII.25.18^{ab136}, 'Who (Varuṇa) has measured of around (i.e. passed the measure round) the ends of heaven and earth with the cord (*raśmī*)', though there is no express mention of *ṛtá*, the implication is unmistakable that Varuṇa passes the measuring cord of *ṛtá* around heaven and earth, thus circumscribing them with a restraining *pāśa*, as it were, (for their good and not by way of punishment).

II.24.8^{ab137} speaks of the swift bow of Brahmanaspati—a bow of which *ṛtá* is the string (*jyā*).

The conception of the wheel of *ṛtá* containing within itself all Being (dealt with in a preceding¹³⁸ section) is, in a sense, the *pāśa*-conception in another form. The encircling wheel with its network of spokes, but another version of the enclosing *pāśa* with its network of cords, both tending to circumscribe activity.

In VII.65.3¹³⁹ Mitra and Varuṇa are called the Bonds (personified) of *ánṛta*, equipped with many nooses (*bhūripāśā*), difficult to pass through for the hostile mortal. Only by following their own path of *ṛtá* (we are told) is it possible to cross through hard hips. Here 'Bonds' must mean binders; compare IX.73.4^{d140}: at every step are bonds (*śétavaḥ*) that are equipped with nooses (*pāśīnaḥ*). X.67.4¹⁴¹: 'Bṛhaspati seeking light in the midst of darkness drove up the cows (beams of the Dawn), lying concealed in the bond of *ánṛta*, above one (closed hole) and below two (closed holes) in the cave, (because) he opened up all the three holes'.

¹³⁵ See Section 21.

¹³⁶ *páṛi ya raśmína divá 'ntān mamé pṛthivyāḥ* | VIII.25.18^{ab}.

¹³⁷ *ṛtáḥyena kṣiprēna brāhmaṇas páṭir yátra váṣṭi prá tád aśinoti dhāvanā* || II.24.8

¹³⁸ See Section 25.

¹³⁹ *tá bhūripāśāv ánṛtasya śétu duratyētū rlpāve máṛtyāya | ṛtasya mītravaruṇā pathā vām apó ná nāvā duritā tarema* || VII.65.3.

¹⁴⁰ *padé-pade pāśīnaḥ santi śétavaḥ* || IX.73.4^d.

¹⁴¹ *avó dvābhyām pará ékayā gā gūhā śiṣṭhantīr ánṛtasya śétau | bṛhaspátīś támasi jyótīr ichānā úd asā ākar vī hí tisrá āvāḥ* || X.67.4.

§29. The tangled web of the physical dispositions of *ṛtá* and *ánṛta* described in these verses can be pictured as follows: *ṛtá* (the belt of the Zodiac), was, no doubt, a kind of bond extending through space circumscribing the activities and movements of gods and men within itself but it was a bond in a good sense like the *dharmapāśa* of Varuṇa in the Mahābhārata.¹⁴² Immediately outside this *ṛtá*, extended the bonds (or network of snares) of *ánṛta* which gripped those celestials who strayed from or were removed by a hostile being from *ṛta* into *ánṛta* (in a physical sense) like the cows or rays of the Dawn or those mortals who took to *ánṛta* in a moral and religious sense. The *prāsiti* (the ensnaring net) of *ṛtá* probably means this complicated and involved tangle or web of *ṛtá* and *ánṛta* and represents the ramifications of the nooses of Varuṇa, escape from which was, however, possible by strict adherence to the path of *ṛtá* (in all senses of the term, physical, moral and religious). In other words, *ṛtá* (or its custodians Mitra and Varuṇa) was itself *the bond that bound (the snares of) ánṛta* (cf. VII.65.3 above where the Two Gods are described as the binders of *ánṛta*) and kept it from entrapping the luminaries who followed the right path.

§30. To separate the confused strands of *ṛtá* and *ánṛta* in this tangled skein was no easy task for god or mortal. The R̥gVedic poets themselves freely express the difficulty¹⁴³ of keeping them apart, which only the great gods could overcome. In I.105.5^{abc144} the poet asks 'Ye gods who abide in the three illuminated (regions) of peaven, which is your *ṛtá* and which is your *ánṛta*?' In I.139.2^{abc145} Mitra and Varuṇa are referred to as separating *ṛtá* from *ánṛta* with the most energetic exercise of their power of will and thought. In X.124.5^{cd146} it is explicitly stated that for Varuṇa the assumption of the sovereignty of Indra's dominion was dependent on his capacity to distinguish *ṛtá* from *ánṛta*. [This verse incidentally throws light on how Varuṇa or Varuṇa and Mitra come

¹⁴² Mbh. 2.9.17; 5.126.46.

¹⁴³ Compare for example the following verse where the poet wonders where the *ṛtá* has disappeared!

kvā ṛtām pūrvyām gatām kās tād bibharti nūtanā . . . || I.105.4^{cd}.

¹⁴⁴ *amīyé devāḥ sthāna triṣv ā rocané divāh |*

kād va ṛtām kād ánṛtām || I.105.5^{abc}.

¹⁴⁵ *yád dha tyān mītrāvaruṇāv ṛtād ádhy ādātāthe ánṛtām svāna manyūnā dākṣaṣya svēna manyūnā |* I.139.2^{abc}.

¹⁴⁶ *ṛtāna rājān anṛtām vivīcān máma rāṣṭráyādhīpatyam éhi* || X.124.5^{cd}.

to have their double dominion (cf. *dvitā rāṣṭrām* in IV.42.1¹⁴⁷ and VII.28.4)¹⁴⁸ over the spheres of light and darkness. To take over the charge of the sphere of light from Indra, it was necessary to separate *ṛtā* from non-*ṛtā*. Mitra and Varuṇa press down all *ánṛta*s and line up with *ṛtā* (I.152.1¹⁴⁹). Verse 3rd¹⁵⁰ of the same hymn tells us that when Uṣas marches ahead, that is the work of Mitra and Varuṇa and when the *gárbha* (Sun) bears the burden ('his own burden', because the mother Uṣas has disappeared), the *gárbha* has to suppress *ánṛta* and bring across or uphold *ṛtā*.

§31. Whereas thus, there is a large number of passages that preserve the physical sense of *ṛtā* (= the Zodiac), there are only a few that do so with regard to its opposite, the *ánṛta* or non-*ṛtā* which retains chiefly those meanings which are the anti-thesis of *ṛtā* in its moral and religious aspect and these few we examine now. In II.24.6¹⁵¹ and 7^{ab}, the *Āngirasas* in their search for cows (the rays of the Dawn) hidden by the *Paṇis* are said to have detected *ánṛta*s first and then (and then alone) to have reached the path of light (*māh*). Similarly Varuṇa is said to detect *ánṛta* in VII.28.4¹⁵². Mitra Aryaman and Varuṇa are said to be the chastiser of *ánṛta* and (therefore) able to prosper in the seat of *ṛtā*, in VII.60.5¹⁵³. Varuṇa is said to destroy or resist *ánṛta* in VII.84.4¹⁵⁴. Finally V.12.4¹⁵⁵ tells us that Agni's fetters (*bāndhanāsaḥ*) are kept ready for those who drink (*pānti*) the drink (*dhāsīm*) of *ánṛta* or who protect (*pānti*) the support (*dhāsīm*) of *ánṛta*. A pun seems to have been intended on *pānti* (which may be connected either with the root *pā*, to drink or wit the root *pā* to protect as well as on *dhāsīm*.

¹⁴⁷ *māma dvitā rāṣṭrāṣṭriyasya* | IV.42.1^a.

¹⁴⁸ See Footnote No. 42.

¹⁴⁹ *āvātīratam ánṛtāni víśva ṛtēna mītrāvaruṇā sacche* || I.152.1^{cd}.

¹⁵⁰ *apād eti prathamā padvālinām kās tād vām mītrāvaruṇā ciketa* |
gárbha bhārām bharaty ā cid asya ṛtām pīparty ánṛtam ní tārīti || I.152.3.

¹⁵¹ *abhinakṣanta abhī ye tām ānāsūr nidhīm pañinām paramām gūhā hitām* ||
īc vidvānsaḥ pratīcākṣyānṛtā pānar āta ā tashubh kavāya mahān pathah || II.24.6.
ṛtāvānsaḥ pratīcākṣyānṛtā pānar āta ā tashubh kavāya mahān pathah || II.24.7^{ab}.

¹⁵² *prāti yac cāṣṭe ánṛtam anenāḥ* || VII.28.4^{cd}.

¹⁵³ *imē cefāra ánṛtasya bhūrēr mītrā aryamā varuṇo hī sánti* || VII.60.5^{ab}.

¹⁵⁴ *prā yā ādītyō ánṛtā minātī āmitā sūro dayate vāsūni* || VII.84.4^{cd}.

¹⁵⁵ *kē te agne rīpāve bāndhanāsaḥ kē pāyāvāḥ sanjanta dyumāntah* |
kē dhāsīm agne ánṛtasya pānti kā āsata vācasah santi vapāḥ || V.12.4

§32. We may now recapitulate the various arguments step by step, leading up to our main proposition thus :—

I. The *pāśas* are so distinctive of Varuṇa that they reveal on closer investigation, a fundamental aspect of his character as the All-Binder, All-Encompasser, All-Enveloper or All-Pervader.

II. *Rtā* is so intimately connected with Varuṇa as to be almost his special charge.

III. The physical counterpart or natural basis of *ṛtā* which enjoys divine status in the RgVeda is the belt of the Zodiac which no light of heaven (*deva*) may deviate from.

IV. The references to the wheel, the thread (*īantu*), the cord (*raśmī*), string (*juṣā*) and finally the network (*prāsiti*) of *ṛtā* point definitely to this *ṛtā* as the *pāśa* (in a good sense) of Varuṇa—the *dharmapāśa*, the noose of Right, which is spoken of in the Mahābhārata. The mention of the cows (rays of the Dawn) lying trapped in the bond of *anṛta* (X.67.4) and of Varuṇa and Mitra as themselves the Binders of *anṛta* (VI.1.65.3) and the many references to the difficulty of unravelling the strands of *ṛtā* from those of *anṛta*—[a difficulty overcome by the Great Gods only by lining themselves up with *ṛtā* which itself was a kind of Bond (VII.65.3) that bound or passed round and thus kept within proper bounds the meshes of *anṛta* which extended outside *ṛtā*—all drew up a vivid picture of the tangled skein of *ṛtā* and *anṛta* reappearing in the moral plane as *satyānṛte* (Vn. 49.3) and provide the most natural (*physical*) basis of that awe-inspiring conception of *pāśa* originally associated with Varuṇa and later with Yama. An examination of the subsequent phases of the development of this conception in post-RgVedic literature and the two epics must be reserved for a separate paper, the limited purpose of this paper being a search for the earliest (i.e. RgVedic) antecedents of the *dharmapāśa* of Varuṇa in the Mahābhārata.

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND THE GĀTHĀS OF ZARATHUSHTRA

By

IRACH J. S. TARAPOREWALA

The truths in the Gāthās of Zarathushtra which form the very foundation of the Zoroastrian faith are the same as those contained in the Gītā. Indeed, the very names are identical, conveying the same meaning "the Song Divine". What I find is that these two great Aryan Scriptures teach the same fundamental truths and often in almost identical manner. Every passage in the Gāthās can be paralleled in the Gītā.

In the very beginning of the Gāthā *Ahunavaiti* (Yasna 29) we have a magnificent "Prologue in Heaven", comparable with that given in GOETHE'S *Faust* for dramatic effect. Here we have the oppressed and distracted "Soul of Mother-Earth" (Gəuš-Urvā) approaching the Supreme Being with her lamentation. The ancient Hindu story of Pṛthivi in the shape of a Cow, carrying her sorrowful tale upto Visnu at once occurs to us. The very name Gəuš-Urvā is suggestive. She approaches the Supreme Ahurā-Mazdā relying on the ancient promise so clearly expressed in the Gītā (iv. 7-8).

*yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati bhārata |
abhyutthānam adharmasya tadā mānam aśramy ahun ||
paritrāṇāya sādhitānāṃ vīrāṣāya ca duṣkṛtām |
dharmasamsthāpanārthāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge ||*

In the Gāthā, however, Ahurā-Mazdā does not himself go down upon earth, but sends down his "noblest Creation" Zarathushtra.

Very striking is the list of distresses Mother-Earth has been suffering from :

"Passion, and rapine, outrage everywhere,

"And violence doth enclose me all around." (Yas. 29.1)

The notable point is that "Passion" leads the list. This is the *kāma* of the Gītā, the *mahāśano mahāpāpmā* who is the true enemy of mankind on earth. The word used in the Gāthā for this is *Aēšma*. It is derived

from $\sqrt{a\acute{e}s-}$ (*ts- : icch*), 'to desire' and hence is the exact equivalent of *kāma*. But there is a double meaning in this name. It signifies both " (selfish) desire " and " anger ". *kāma-krodha* often occur together in the *Gītā*. We have in the *Gītā* (ii.62) the genesis of *krodha* from *kāma*. The close relation between the two is also shown in *Gītā* (iii.37) where this two-fold *kāma-krodha* is considered as root of all evil done by man, " forced as it were into it " (*balād iva niyojitaḥ*). Śāṅkara's comment on the words *kāma eṣa krodha eṣaḥ* is quite illuminating. He says :

kāma eṣa sarva loka śatruḥ satruḥ yannimittō sarvānārtthapāptiḥ prāṇinām |
sa eṣa kāmah pṛotihataḥ kenacit krodhatvena paṇṇamale |
ataḥ krodho'pyeṣa eva||

This clearly shows that the *Gītā* regards *kāma* and *krodha* as two aspects of the same emotion, the latter being "*kāma* frustrated". Moreover in the Kāśmīra recension of the *Gītā* several verses are added after iii.37, in which the word *śatru* (in the singular) is used for both, thus proving their essential identity.¹ In the *Gāthā* the identity is closer, for the same name has been used for both.

From the above sample we see how the study of the *Gītā* throws unexpected light on *Gāthā* passages. Another example may be given. I had long been puzzled why in the *Gāthā* there was almost no emphasising of *bhakti*. I once heard such an eminent authority as Shams-ul-Ulema Dastur Dr. M. N. DHALLA lamenting the lack of the *bhakti*-cult in early Zoroastrianism. After some years of reading and thinking I have come to the conclusion that the three "Holy Immortals" (*Amṛt-ā-Spṛntā*) -*Aṣa*, *Vohu-Mano*, and *Xṣaθra*- stand respectively for the three Paths—of Knowledge, Love and Service—described in the *Gītā*. I was led to this by a hint in the Pahlavi commentary to the Ahuna-Vairya verse (Yas. 27.13), that in the three lines of that verse these three "Holy Immortals" are mentioned in their order. This certainly leads to a profounder understanding of this verse.

Now the first *Gāthā*, Ahunavaiti, is so named because it is an expansion of the fundamental teaching contained in the Ahuna-Vairya. Working on that supposition and carefully noting the characteristics and functions of each "Holy Immortal" as described in the *Gāthā*, we come inevitably

¹ See BELVALKAR's edition of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, (Poona 1941) pp. 63 ff.

to the conclusion that these three represent the three aspects of the Supreme to be realised respectively along the Paths of Knowledge, Love and Service.

It is remarkable that while in the Gāthās *Aša* occupies the "first place" amongst the "Holy Immortals", his next colleague *Vohu-Manō* has been mentioned most often. So here we get clear indications of the Path of Love emphasised in the Gāthās. Many scholars have believed (and agree with them) that the best exposition of bhakti in Iran has been through Sufi-ism. And Sufi teachings can in their turn be traced back to Zoroastrian ideas, especially to the cult of *Vohu-Manō*. It is very significant that in later Zoroastrian doctrine *Vohu-Manō* occupies the "first place" amongst the "Holy Immortals."¹

A third example illustrating the light thrown by the Gītā on the inner significance of the Gāthā doctrine may be added. In Yasna 30 we get Zarathushtra's teaching of the Twin-Spirits. The pure philosopher's teaching of the Prophet has undergone strange transformations in late days. In the Gāthā he definitely states that both are "created by Mazdā (Mazdāŋa) and are eternally opposed in every way one to the other. When first the two came together, one created "Life" and the other "Not-Life" "so that Creation's purpose be fulfilled" (Yas. 30.4). This reminds us at once of the doctrine of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* as taught in the Gīta and elaborated in the Sāṅkhya-darśana. What we called "good" and "evil" is only "relative" and depends upon the amount of ignorance that is within ourselves. As the Gītā puts it

apñānenañtam jñānam tena muhyanti janavaḥ (v. 15).

The whole theory of evil worked out in Yas. 40 and 31 clearly points out that when people are doubting as to what is the right course "the Deluder" comes and confounds them, taking advantage of their selfish desires. Ignorance of the Divine Spirit within us is the real cause of evil and pain, this is the teaching alike of the Gāthā and of the Gītā. Thus the Gītā amplifies and supplements what is often given in the Gāthās, as a terse sentence.

¹ This is typified by the names of the days of the Zoroastrian month—the first three *Ahura mazda*, *Vohu-Mano* and *Aša-Vahišta*.

² Cf. Gītā, 13.19 ff.

THE MAHABHARATA DATA FOR ARYAN EXPANSION IN INDIA I

By

T. S. SHEJWALKAR

Two decades ago when Dr. H. C. RAI CHAUDHARI began his studies in Ancient Indian Geography 'the most serious difficulty in the way of utilising the Epic and Puranic accounts was the corruption of the text.' Fortunately for us we now have the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* which will help in taking a fresh review of the same material. The work is not yet complete and so we cannot still have a complete study based on the whole of the Epic. To that extent our study will have to be partial and so we have chosen a limited field of enquiry. It pertains to the holy places of the Aryans in the "Mahābhārata Age", a period of time, as is known to scholars, which is difficult to decide. When a penetrating editor of the acumen of the late Dr. V. S. SURTHANKAR found to his dismay that one line of a verse in the Epic may belong to a period centuries earlier than the second, the difficulty of judging time will be patent to every one. Though our enquiry pertains to the holy places we are not primarily interested in their religious or sociological aspects. We want to fix the geographical habitation of the places in which those holy places actually stood and after dotting the same on the map of India to come to some conclusion about the spread of Aryan colonisation in that age. For the spread of knowledge of Indian Geography amongst the Aryans at a particular time of their history is one thing, while their actual spreading over the area and colonising the same is another thing. The creation of holy places is a sure guide to Aryan colonisation, in our opinion. The places might be far and few between, but the criterion we think is quite certain and clear as a guide. The Aryan colonisation was not, as it could not be from the nature of the case—a continuous conquering march of a horde like that of a Timur or a Chingizkhan. It was first and foremost a cultural conquest and only incidentally a geographical occupation. The original idea about the overwhelming nature of Aryan superiority

¹ *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 1932, p. 40

in all walks of life is, we think, now completely expelled from the historian's outlook. The strength and the good points of the aboriginal cultures have also become more manifest by further studies in that direction and the unearthing of their past civilisations. The main stock of the Hindu civilisation still seems to be aboriginal on which the Aryans grafted their culture, thus giving a rich new taste and colour to the natural plant.

The first item in an investigation of the holy places would be the point whether the idea of deifying the rivers, the mountains, the forests and trees was Aryan in its origin or whether it was adopted from the aboriginal races. In the former case the names bestowed on these would be naturally in the Aryan tongue, but if the latter be their origin, the names are likely to be also in the languages of the local races. In a sense this is a primary and a basic point, but it must be left to comparative philology in the main. The pit-fall underlying an attempt at the derivation of all names from Aryan roots should be obvious to any one. Our essay will keep aside this matter and only begin with the idea that the places had been already marked as their own by the Aryan priesthood.

The geographical investigation from the Purāṇic data is difficult in the extreme. It is doubtful whether the sense of direction and distance was exact amongst the ancients. Some investigators have already tried to work on the idea that the directions mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* can not² be treated as exact or even correct because Bhīma is supposed to have gone to the eastern quarter, it need not be assumed that all the places in his itinerary were necessarily to the east of Delhi. In the first place, directions are seldom given in *Mahābhārata* descriptions and where given they are mentioned in a very broad sense. But it would be idle to ignore the directions whenever they are stated and in their total absence all investigation in itself will be without any direction. Verbal identity of place names can never be a sure indication of their habitat. We think a good deal of confusion has already been created by following the purely verbal method without applying the geographical and the historical methods in its train. The names of the places of pilgrimage have been especially multiplied in India to suit the regional and local pride and convenience. This work of multiplication seems to have already begun in good earnest even during the "*Mahābhārata* age."

² *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 1932, p. 117.

Already we find in the Epic the various names of *tirthas* often repeated and spread over a wider area. Originally the *tirtha* might have started at a particular place, but soon it comes to be a commemoration of a particular event which has nothing to do with the geographical situation. The original Rāma-hrada might be situated for aught we know at the actual place where Paraśurāma did a certain thing. But the idea soon became popular and the priests working on it created various Rāma-hradas and Rāma Tīrthas in localities so widely separated as Kurukṣetra and the Śūrparāka-*keṭi* or at the base of the Himalayas or near the shores of the Bay of Bengal. In all the holy localities of the Hindus we find, not only now but even in the Epic age, the names of the various holy spots repeated, imitated and multiplied. It would be a problem for investigation where any particular name actually started. The Brahmin seemed to have worked on the idea of flattering their clientele on the pride of ancient places and reproduced the same in the new localities colonised or occupied by the Aryans. They also ministered to the convenience of their devout followers and tried to soothe their conscience by visiting the local self-same shrines in lieu of the distant original holy places, difficult of access to an ordinary man of the world. Where the names of the original holy places were not actually repeated the new places were endowed with the same religious merit as was to be had at the original place.

If the holy spots are repeated, it seems no wonder, that the merit to be secured by visiting them and going through the appointed ceremonies also tiresomely repeated in the mention of these places. The categories of religious merit flowing from these holy places can be classified in certain well-defined kinds. These show the hopes and fears of the humanity in the Epic age and throw a flood of light on the psychology of their religious beliefs and their worldly needs. These hopes and fears are not necessarily the same as are to be found in the later ages with advanced civilizations. A comparative study of the advance of humanity on the materialistic basis would serve history in an important aspect.

If the actual geographical habitat of a place of pilgrimage is difficult to locate or identify, the identity and the original situation of a shrine, a pond, a fountain, and the like situated in a particular locality is almost impossible to verify. CUNNINGHAM³ has related a curious legend about

³ Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, 14.90.

the identification of the ancient holy places. According to the *Kurukṣetra Māhātmya* "the holy places in that locality had lain desolate for several centuries after the Muhammadan conquest when a Daṇḍī named Rāmachandra Swāmi came from Kāśī to Kurukṣetra. He was grieved to see the desolation and determined to stop there and try to restore the holy places. But as even the sites of many were unknown, he professed to have obtained a knowledge of them in his dreams and accordingly he wrote a book describing them, which is called the *Māhātmya* of 6,000 ślokas and also the 'Daṇḍī Māhātmya'. Long afterwards a Pandit of Thanesar, named Banmali traced all the holy sites from the positions given by the Daṇḍī, whose account is now accepted as genuine by all brahmins, although his only authority for the identifications was a dream."

What CUNNINGHAM has related about Kurukṣetra is possibly applicable to other big centres of pilgrimage like Benares, Prayāga, Haridwar, Badari-Kedar, Gayā, Pushkara and other similar places, except where the actual site is unchangeable like the peak of a clearly known mountain, and the like. In the plains of Hindustan the rivers and streams change their courses frequently and it is next to impossible to presume that the ancient sites have remained where they actually were. Later on when solid stone-ghats or pavements came to be built and the towns had risen high on the debris of centuries and were protected by embankments and similar devices, the places probably came to be more or less defined and fixed once for all. But this is a comparatively very late event in history. We suspect that the various current names of shrines and sites have in many cases been given to them by later revivalists of pious dispositions after the manner of Rāmachandra Daṇḍī. Being well versed in the ancient Epics and Purāṇas, they took the lists of holy places as found in these books and tried to fix them as best as they could. And what else would they do when geological changes, human vandalism, migrations of populations due to historical causes resulting in clean forgetting or wide lapses of memory, had left no clue to proper verification?

What has been said above is not wild imagination or a mere guess. It is known from history⁴ that when Mahmud of Gazni crossed the river Saraswatī, it was an impetuous deep stream of stony bottom strewn with large pebbles. Now it is completely silted with 30 feet of fine sand and

⁴ ELLIOT and DOWSON, *Muhammadan Historians*, 2, 40.

so has almost ceased to be a running stream. When the whole locality of Kurukṣetra was trodden down beyond recognition by invading hordes of Illyas, Śakas, Curjaras, Afghans, Mongols and Turks, how can the ancient ponds and shrines remain standing where they were? Are these things have happened to almost all the holy localities in India, for the holy places were richly endowed and possessed vast wealth of precious metals. Where the locality was left undisturbed by the invading hordes as in the case of the Ganges Valley above Haridwar, the disturbed condition of the country stopped pilgrimages to these distant places for a sufficiently long time to effect lapses of memory. When the great Śaṅkarāchārya came, he had to rehabilitate things in the disturbed valley so it is related⁵ in the current legends of the various places in the localities concerned.

Taking into consideration all these factors we have come to the conclusion that it is idle to try to identify the various holy spots mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* lists of holy places, except in so far as the geographic data is clearly defined and unchangeable.

In dealing with the subject, it is necessary to bear in mind that the narration of the holy spots does not belong to the class of cosmographic episodes found interspersed in the various Purāṇas as well as the Epics. Therefore there can be no formal mode of expression or regular description of the various places mentioned in the *Tīrtha-Yātrā*. At the same time it would be impossible for an investigator to disregard any clues to the directions, locations and descriptions of the places mentioned and what they are worth. Any casual clue for the identification of spots must be taken as more likely to be correct than any formal treatment of the subject matter. The possibility of interpolations and later additions will always be there and it is very difficult, if not impossible, to detect the later from the earlier.

In the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* there is an upa-parvan called *Tīrtha-Yātrā Parvan*. In the critical edition it contains *Adhyāyas* 80 to 153 both inclusive. Of these the first nine *Adhyāyas* deal with the various holy places and spots in two different sets. In Pulastya's narration to Bhīṣma is renarrated through the medium of Nārada to Yudhiṣṭhira in four long *Adhyāyas* containing 133, 178, 143, 144 ver-

⁵ *Tīrtha-yātrā-praharṇi* (Marsilia) 1885, by G. S. LILE Sastri, of Tirambak, p. 37.

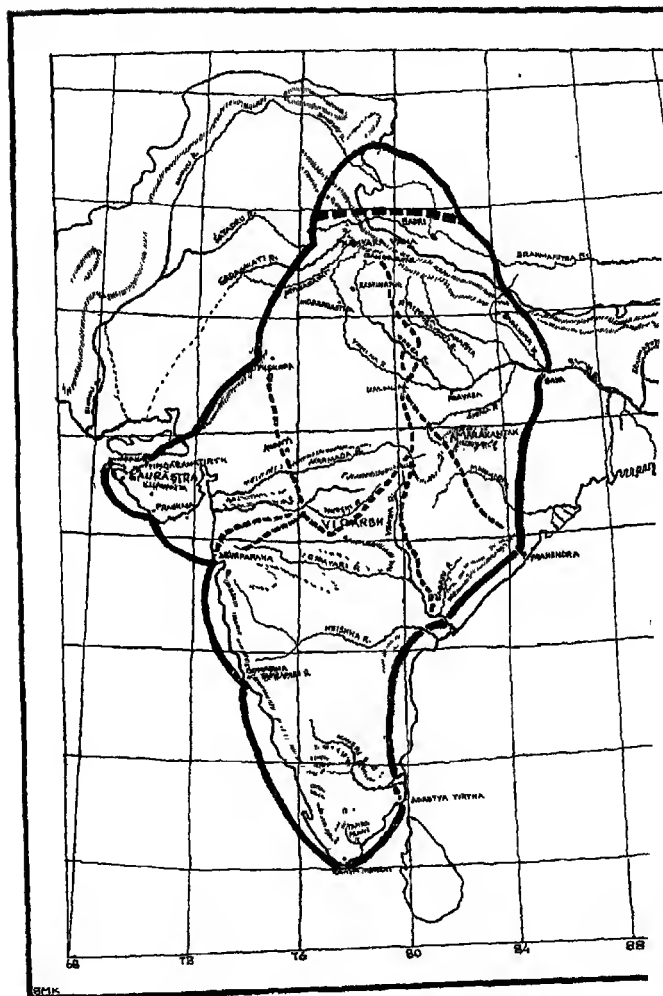
in them. The *Adhyāya* 84 is a sort of short connecting link. In the four next *Adhyāyas*, Dhaumya, the priest of the Pāṇḍavas, relates in four short *Adhyāyas* the various holy places of India in four groups each devoted to one of the four quarters in succession. The verses in these four chapters are 23, 24, 25 and 30 successively. The rest of the *Tīrtha-Yātrā Parvan* is occupied in the actual itinerary of Yudhiṣṭhira with his brothers (except Arjuna) and wife to the various places in the company of the sage Lomaśa. Naturally it contains, in the *Mahābhārata* style, a number of *upākhyānas* which occupy the major portion of the rest of the *Adhyāyas* in the *Parvan*.

The first thought that naturally occurs to the mind of any lay reader is about the necessity and propriety of having two different sets of *Adhyāyas* of unequal length for the narration of the various holy spots to the Pāṇḍava brothers. On the ground of style alone it can be seen that the two sets of narration belong to two different times in history. This fact has already been noted by scholars and inferences drawn from it. Thus Mr. M. V. VAIDYA has contributed an article to the *P. V. Kane Festschrift Volume*⁶ on the Pulastya *Tīrtho-yātrā* and its affinities with the *Padma Purāṇa* narration of holy places. Therein he has pointed out "the difficulties in the way of pinning down this episode to the *Mahābhārata*. Pulastya-Tīrtha-Yātrā is not known to the composer of the *Anukramanī-Poroca* in the *Ādi* and even in the *Parvasaṅgraho Parva*, it is mentioned in a passage which is clearly spurious." Though it is proved that this *Mahābhārata* episode is the basis of the *Padma Purāṇa* section of *Tīrtha Yātrā*, it clearly belongs to the latest strata of the Epic and is chronologically of the same age as the *Purāṇas* with their altogether different outlook and spirit. It belongs to the time when *Mahātmyas* of various holy spots come into vogue. On the other hand the Dhaumya set of narration seems to belong to a much earlier age. A comparison between the two narrations is sure to prove useful for arriving at certain broad results in the history of the Aryan colonisation in India and the spread of Aryan culture as a whole.

Though the two sets of narration of the holy spots belong to different times separated by centuries, still both appear to be thoroughly Brahmanical. This fact need not preclude the possibility of the second and bigger version of the Pulastya narration being post-Buddhist in time.

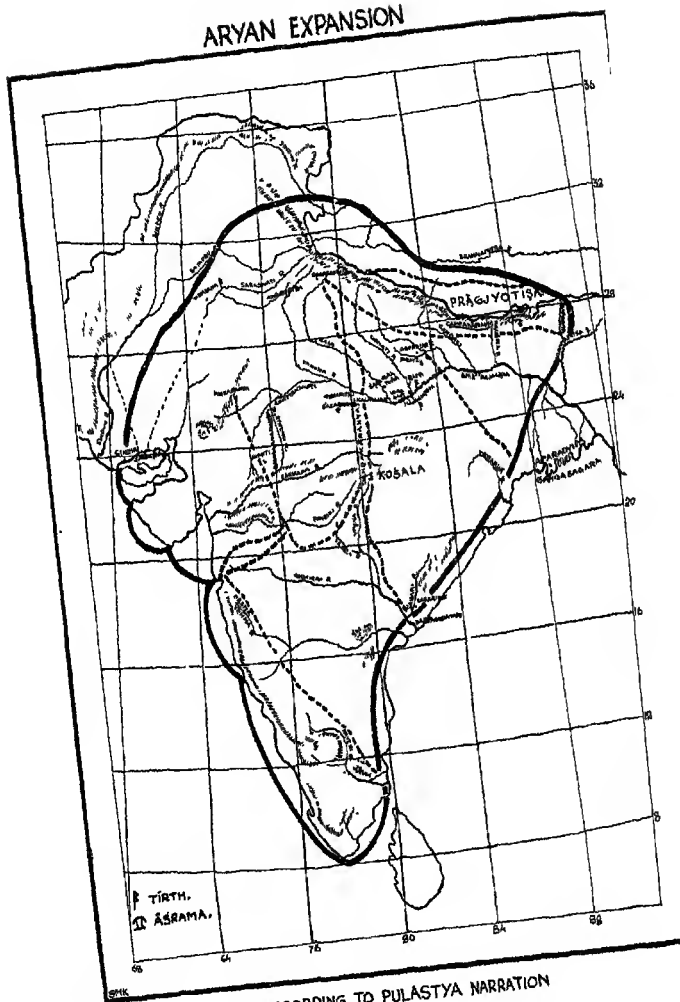
⁶ A *Volume of Studies in Indology*, pp. 532-4.

ARYAN EXPANSION



ACCORDING TO DHARMYA NARRATION

ARYAN EXPANSION



But the same can certainly not be said of the shorter Dhaumya-set of narration. Our grounds for taking such a view are as follows :—

(1) The Dhaumya-set of narration, is much shorter than the Pulastya narration and thus naturally shows a less advanced stage of Aryan Expansion.

(2) From the request of king Yudhisthira it clearly appears that his aim in inquiring about the various places spread all over India was mainly to spend the time⁷ in ever-new localities till the return of Arjuna at whose separation the remaining brothers were feeling ill-at-ease. He is not out for a religious pilgrimage as such, but simply wants to counteract the heaviness of soul⁸ by which all the Pāṇḍavas brothers with Draupadī were afflicted. They found it impossible to continue in the Kāmyaka forest where they were sojourning on account of its associations with Arjuna who had now left them on a long tour. This is in marked contrast with the aim of the Pulastya narration which is definitely told to detail the merits to be gleaned by undertaking a pilgrimage of the then known holy places of the Āryas.

(3) It is curious to find that no mention of god Śiva ever once occur in the four Adhyāyas¹⁰ of Dhaumya narration and even the mention of Viṣṇu in two places,¹¹ appears to be a somewhat clumsy¹² and therefore later addition. Otherwise the whole narration is without any mention of later Hindu gods. Dhaumya narrates sites where holy men have lived, where some well-known figures have performed sacrifices, where important events have occurred. He is almost silent on the merits which accrue to a person by visiting these various places of hallowed memory. Indra and Varuṇa, Kubera and Brahmā are mentioned in connection with sacrifices but they are not treated as specific deities ; particular shrines.

⁷ Mahābhārata, III 84.18.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.84.15.16.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.80.28-40.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.85-88.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 3.86.21-4; 88.21-7

¹² The verses 21-4 of adhyāya 86 and 24-7 of 88 use a superlative tone which is foreign to the whole tenor of Dhaumya narration and seems specially inserted later on to boost Kṛṣṇa. They look like unnecessary pendants out of tune with the rest of the verses.

(4) The fourth and the most important proof is the geographical area covered by Dhaumya's of narration. In the east, Dhaumya begins by crossing the Ganges with Naimiṣa¹³ forest. Thence he goes to the Gomati¹⁴ river, but afterwards instead of going further he crosses the Ganges and goes direct to Gayā.¹⁵ Even from Gayā he does not proceed further. He returns and comes to the Ganges-Jumnā Doab.¹⁶ But he does not stop there. He again takes a southerly direction and goes to Kālāñjara¹⁷ hill and still further on to the mountain Mahendra¹⁸ almost bordering on the bay of Bengal. Thence he again returns to the Ganges basin¹⁹ and ends there his Eastern itinerary. This shows clearly that Dhaumya and the men of his time had no clear sense of directions in India; and secondly that the Aryans had still not crossed the river Śāradā into what became Videha afterwards. For some time the further eastern limit of Aryan advance in the Gangetic basin was only Kośala as it is mentioned in the legend narrated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.²⁰ Thus talking in terms of time Dhaumya belongs to that earlier time which preceded the colonisation of Videha, Anga²¹ and the countries beyond.

(5) Though the Aryans had not gone further east, that does not mean that they were unacquainted with the south. In fact Dhaumya narrates southern holy spots in equal numbers. It is also significant that he begins the south with the river Godāvarī and the Payoṣṇī. That shows that the Aryans had crossed to the Deccan along the same path as is reported to have been taken by Rāma Dāśarathi in the Rāmāyaṇa. Still nowhere in Dhaumya's narration is there any hint of Rāma as a hero much less as a god. While Viṣṇu is on his way to

¹³ Mahābhārata, 3.85.4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.85.5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.85.6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.85.12.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.85.15.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.85.16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.85.21.

²⁰ B. C. SEN, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, 1942, p. 7. "From a very uncultivated and very marshy land, Videha, which had not been previously tasted by Agni Vaidvānara became soon converted into a quite habitable region."

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7. Anga is first mentioned in Atharvaveda; Vairocana, a king of Anga, performed a horse-sacrifice according to the Āitareya Brāhmaṇa which also mentions the Euphrates.

become a supreme deity in his form of Nārāyaṇa²² and Kṛṣṇa²³, Rāma Dāśarathī or Jāmadagnya should not be mentioned even as a hero is to our mind a very telling omission.

(6) Of the Bhārgava clan which is taken by Dr. SUKTHANKAR to be responsible for the final redaction of the *Mahābhārata* in the main, Bhṛgu, Cyavana, Mārkaṇḍeya and Jamadagni are mentioned in the Dhaumya narration with the significant omission of Paraśurāma. Once where (3.85.11) the reading Jāmadagnya is adopted in the critical edition, the foot-note gives the variant Jamadagni for the Śāradā, Kāśmīrī, Bangālī and other important northern recensions showing that Jamadagni must be the older reading. This is also supported by the fact that Paraśurāma is not known to have been connected with the sacrifice performed by Viśvāmītra or to have recited a genealogy (*anuvāṁśam*) there²⁴.

(7) Śūrpāraka which is generally taken to have been created by Paraśurāma, is referred to as an altar of Jamadagni²⁵ only in the critical edition, thus proving its earlier colonisation by the father and not by the son.

(8) Mount Mahendra which is also generally taken as the creation of Paraśurāma, is referred to as a place of Mahātmā Bhārgava,²⁶ which can be connected with any member of the Bhṛgu clan and need not be necessarily put to the credit of Paraśurāma on the basis of this reference.

(9) Kurukṣetra, which is otherwise known as Samantapañcaka² and is renowned for its five pools of blood created by Paraśurāma after slaughtering the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times, is not so much as mentioned in the Dhaumya narration though in the Pulastya narration Rāmaṇhadas are described with their anecdote in a number of verses.²

²² Mbh. 3.88.27—Nārāyaṇa is called an Ādi-deva (First god), the great Yogi (Mahāyogi) to whom all rāis and gods make a daily obeisance.

²³ Mbh. 3.88.21-4. Kṛṣṇa is called Sanātana Dharma himself and also God of god (Devadevah).

²⁴ Mbh. 3.85.11.

²⁵ Mbh. 3.86.9.

²⁶ Mbh. 3.85.16.

²⁷ Mbh. 3.117.9.

²⁸ Mbh. 3.81.22-33.

On the other hand, according to Dhaumya, the great renowned Jamadagni had performed a sacrifice there at which all the great rivers attended with their waters and Viśvasvasu recited a well-known verse;²⁹ thus proving that the father had an earlier connection with that famous locality.

(10) Similarly Dhaumya disposes of Prayāga³⁰ and Puṣkara³¹ by mere mention in two and three verses each without dilating on them as *tīrtharājas*, proving the earlier times.

(11) Vārāṇasī³² is conspicuous by its absence in the Dhaumya narration. Connecting this fact with the non-mention of god Śiva in the whole narration, its times seem to be much earlier than the times of the Pulastya narration wherein a number of synonyms of god Śiva appear as connected with various places.

(12) There are no holy places connected with Rāma Dāśarathī in the Dhaumya narration either. Daṇḍakāraṇya³³ is mentioned in the Pulastya narration but is not to be found in the Dhaumya sol. This also proves that the age of the Dhaumya narration is prior to the cult of Rāma as a recognised deity or hero.

We think this to be an overwhelming evidence showing a difference of centuries between the two sets of narration of holy spots. If we compare the two lists of places after jotting them down on the map we can form a fairly reliable idea of the directions of Aryan expansion. The actual itinerary of Yudhiṣṭhira in the whole round of India as detailed in further chapters in the *Tīrthayātra* parvan differs materially sometimes from the Dhaumya narration and this makes its authentic nature or contemporaneity doubtful.

It would not be out of place here to imagine a picture of India of those hoary days, days before the times related in the legend of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Most of the land was still covered with woods and there were great impenetrable forests at an interval of some hundred miles each. A *Janapada* or country was made up of forest clearings here and there.

²⁹ Mbh. 3.88.13-16.

³⁰ Mbh. 3.85.13-14.

³¹ Mbh. 3.87.13-15.

³² Mbh. 3.82.69.

³³ Mbh. 3.83.38.

Hamlets, villages and towns were gradually growing. Each kingdom was made up of different geographical tracts containing cleared cultivated central area with adjoining forests, mountains and rivers separating them from the other kingdoms. Thus it is mentioned that after the auspicious "birth of three sons to the Kuru line of princes, the Kurus, the Kuru forests (Jāṅgalaṃ) and the Kuru-Kṣetra, all the three³⁴ also increased" and expanded. This "expansion was made by adding the other (foreign) clans and tribes"³⁵ to the Kuru tract presumably by force, perhaps by persuasion, alliance and amalgamation, due to the just rule and efforts of the Regent Bhīṣma.³⁶ The whole land became prosperous and flowed with milk and honey.³⁷ "In the houses of the leading members of the Kuru clan and amongst the townsmen in general, one always heard the words give and enjoy³⁸ (eat)." Cities were still far and few between and were generally called after the names of the clans whose capitals these were. But here and there nick-names were coming into vogue. Thus the capital city of the Kurus was called (or named) after elephants (*Gaṇasāhuvaṃ*), that of Jarāśandha was called *Giri-vraja* (mountain-path), that of the Cedis was styled *Sūktimatī* (adorned with pearl-shells) and that of the Vṛṣṇis became known as *Dvāravatī* (with prominent gates). Still these were exceptional, and humble clans and tribes could not boast of such names. Even in buzzing centres of Aryan civilization, however, the forest was still the prominent background. The warrior classes still tried to live by hunting and could easily do so. Going to or living in forests had still not become an unusual adventure. It was a fairly common and natural thing to do. Scarcity of game for hunting would oblige a change of venue. A curious short *parvan* consisting of only one *adhyāya* of sixteen verses vividly depicts this fact. It is significantly styled the *Mṛga-svapna-bhaya-parvan*.³⁹ There the natural phenomenon of denudation of game in a particular area of forest necessitating a change of place is allegorically narrated. All the surviving⁴⁰ beasts of the forest

³⁴ Mbh. 1.102.1.

³⁵ Mbh. 1.102.12.

³⁶ Mbh. 1.102.11.12.

³⁷ Mbh. 1.102.2-11.

³⁸ Mbh. 1.102.14.

³⁹ Mbh. 3.244.

⁴⁰ Mbh. 3.244.5.

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came to see king Yudhiṣṭhira in his dream and requested him to leave that part and migrate to some other tract, in view of the impending extinction of their species due to incessant hunting by the Pāṇḍava brothers. Their argument touched Yudhiṣṭhira to the quick and taking pity of those unlucky beasts put in a quandary, he resolved next day, in consultation with his brothers, to go to an adjoining forest in which game had become abundant.⁴¹ This little gem of a story throws a flood of light on those times, proving that the society was still in a half-nomad hunting stage. The countryside was divided into cultivated areas, woods for hunting, pastures with ranches. As large areas were still covered with dense forests which generally separated one populated area from the other, the boundaries of the clan territories were ever shifting. The colonies were known after their clans⁴² but their geographical area was still not fixed. The pressure of more vigorous and aggressive tribes made others move from their areas and seek new ones. The various tribes and their kingdoms brought under tribute by the Pāṇḍava brothers in their conquests of the quarters⁴³ cannot necessarily be found now in the very same localities, as can be proved by comparative studies of those times with the later times. But it can form the subject for a separate essay and therefore we merely mention and leave it there.

To judge from the Dhaumya narration the area of holy spots approved by the Brahmins was spread from the Sutlaj in the West to the river Gaṇḍakī in the East, and from the Himalayas in the north to the Agastya tīrtha in the Pāṇḍya country in the furthest south of the Indian peninsula. But while the area of the Gangetic basin formed the centre of Aryan life, in the rest of the area there were Aryan colonies here and there. Mount Mahendra⁴⁴ which is in the Ganjam district of Orissa only sixteen miles from the sea-coast is noted as an important outpost of Aryan culture.

⁴¹ Mbh. 3.244.13. The Pāṇḍava brothers left the Dvāitavana and returned to the Kāmyaka forest.

⁴² The Ānartas are mentioned as a clan conquered by Arjuna in his northern conquest (Mbh. 2.23.14); In later terms north-Gujarat was called Ānarta. The Colas are similarly placed in the north (Mbh. 3.24.20), though in mediaeval times they were rulers in the south. Similar instances can be multiplied.

⁴³ Mbh. 2.23.29.

⁴⁴ *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 17.8 (1908), Mahendragiri—18° 58' N; 84° 24' E, or the same latitude as Bombay.

But then instead of directly proceeding to the south along the sea-board the Aryans seem to have swerved west from the mouths⁴⁵ of the Godavari and colonised the Vidarbha at the centre of the peninsula. This is clear from the mention of the river Veṇṇā⁴⁶ which can be equated with Veṇa-Gangā, and Payoṣṇī⁴⁷ which is identical with the river Pūrṇā rising amongst the hills to the north of Amaraoti and flowing through the present Berar to join the river Tapti in the West. This area was most probably reached by the Aryans by coming direct to the south from the Allahabad region because mount Kālāñjara⁴⁸ in Bundelkhand had become noted in these early times and the sage Agastya⁴⁹ had his āśrama in the same locality. He must have crossed the Vindhya by way of Mandla and descended down the Wain-Ganga valley in the plains below. This is supported by a casual reference in the Nalopākhyāna⁴⁹ also. Nala is standing on the plateau of the Vindhya range and pointing out to Damayantī the various roads leading to the south. From the particular point at which he is standing he can also point out the road leading to Avanti after crossing the mountain Rkavanta in the west. He points out to the highest peak of the Vindhya range in front of him and to the source of the river Payoṣṇī below. This locality is full of the hermitages of great ṛṣis. He also points out the road leading to the Vidarbhas as well

⁴⁵ It must have been practically impossible to go along the coast in those days. South-west of Mahendra the country is hilly for some 150 miles and in those days must have been covered with thick woods. The deltas of the Godavāri and the Kṛṣṇā are even now almost marshes in times of floods and three thousand years ago were possibly like the Sunderbans at the mouths of the Ganga at present. Bhadrācallam is accepted as the place where Rāma crossed the Godavāri on his way to Lanka, in the whole of Telinga country. This place is more than a hundred miles higher up from the mouths of the Godavāri before it enters the gorge of the Eastern Ghats, and significantly enough, above its junction with the river, Śabari, reminding one of the story of the Śabari women who innocently offered tasted berries to Rama. The Śabara tribe is still to be found in this locality. Curiously enough also, one finds a Badarkā tīrtha in Pulastya narration (3.83.13) just before Mahendra but after the (south) Kosāles. Can it be connected with the Berry (=Badari) incident mentioned above?—See *Descriptive and Historical Account of the Godavary Dist.* (1878) pp. 3-4, 42 with the map at the end for conviction.

⁴⁶ Mbh. 3.86.3. The river Bhīmarathi which goes with Veṇṇā in this verse cannot be equated with the river Bhīma which is a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā because the locality is definitely Berars. This name might have been derived from some king Bhīmaratha of the Vidarbhas. A Bhoja prince of this name is mentioned as attending king Yudhiṣṭhira's sacrifice (Mbh. 2.4.20).

⁴⁷ Mbh. 3.86.4.

⁴⁸ Mbh. 3.85.15.

⁴⁹ Mbh. 3.58.20, 22.

as to the (south) Kosalas. Beyond it to the south is the Deccan. With this vivid description the road from the Cedi country to Vidarbha can be properly visualised and almost fixed with certainty. From the Berars the Aryans seem to have walked down along the Tapti valley and descended into the northern Konkan where they created a nucleus at Śūrpāraka⁵⁰ to the north of Bombay. To the south of the Deccan plateau there were colonies of the Aryans in the far south only, as appears from the Agastya tīrtha along the sea⁵¹ coast as well as the Virgins' spot⁵² (Cape Comorin or Kanyā Kumārī). Along the western sea-board, only two points are noted, the locality of Gokarṇa⁵³ with the small river Tāmraparṇī⁵⁴ adjoining it as well as a hermitage of Tṛpāsomāgni,⁵⁵ a pupil of Agastya; and Śūrpārka with the altar of the sage Jamadagni.⁵⁶ Then along the coast, Prabhāsatīrtha⁵⁷ on the sea to the south of Kathiawar is also noted together with the Ujjayanta⁵⁸ mount (Girna) as well as Dvārakā⁵⁹ at the westernmost point of the peninsula. It is curious to note that Kathiawar is included in the southern quarter in the Dhaumya narration and not in the West. On the other hand Avanti, the river Narmadā, "the river of Viśvāmitra", the Yayāti-patana spot, the mounts Maināka and Asita together with Saindhavāranya, and last but not least the lake Puṣkara, are all included in the west.⁶⁰ This shows that Malwa, Gujarat and Rajputana of the present day were treated as the west in those times.

⁵⁰ Mbh. 3.86.9 = Sopāra to the north of Bombay.

⁵¹ Mbh. 3.86.10. It is to be equated with the modern Agastimpelli, because it is given as a Vāruṇa (sea) tīrtha situated in the Pāṇḍya country. A temple of Agastya is still to be found there. It is the extreme south-east point.

⁵² Mbh. 3.86.11; 83.21.

⁵³ Mbh. 3.86.12.

⁵⁴ The Tāmraparṇī here is the small stream at Gokarṇa and not the great river of that name in the Tinnevely District to the north of Cape Comorin, because the syntax of the passage (3.86.11,12) connects it with Gokarṇa only (See *Sacitra-Bhārata-Pravāsa-Vaṇana* (1912), a Marathi book—p. 47).

⁵⁵ Mbh. 3.86.14.

⁵⁶ Mbh. 3.86.9.

⁵⁷ Mbh. 3.86.17.

⁵⁸ Mbh. 3.86.18.

⁵⁹ Mbh. 3.86.21.

⁶⁰ Mbh. 3.87.

This description shows that the Aryans of the Gangetic valley had already separated from the early Aryans of the Indus basin and come to look upon them as outside the pale. The Madhyadeśa of Manu was already in formation as an ultra-orthodox Aryan centre. But still the catholicity of early Aryan mind had not quite dried up and outside centres of Aryan culture were still recognised as holy and approachable. Except for the fringe of sea-coast low-lands surrounding the whole of the Deccan, the Aryans had not penetrated much inside. To the east, much of Bihar and Orissa as well as the whole of Bengal were still uncolonised, though not necessarily unknown. The central forests of the Vindhyan range were also not penetrated except for the chief paths and passes leading to the south. These are the times when visiting of certain lands like Anga, Vanga and Kaliṅga was an offence requiring initiation for the second time with expiatory rites.⁶¹ This bar does not seem to have come into operation after the Jaina and Buddhist successions, for there is no hint of a danger from that quarter.

The Pulastya set of narration which is much inflated when compared to the Dhaumya narration, is still keeping within certain geographical bounds. To be sure, the boundaries of Aryandom had expanded reaching almost the river Brahmaputrā in the east.⁶² The south becomes spotted with more holy places and places connected with Rama Dāśarathī are inserted⁶³ throughout the centre. To the west also the boundary has expanded upto the mouth of the Indus⁶⁴ showing that the religious bar had been slackened a little. Still it is curious to find that Benares is disposed of in one verse and only one tīrtha named Kapilāhrada⁶⁵ is mentioned in connection with it. Lord Viśveśvara has still not come into his own, showing that the times are still comparatively earlier. In fact it represents post-Buddhist period. For the rest certain localities are forming their own Mahātmyas and one whole Adhyāya (Mbh. 3.81) is entirely devoted to the Kurukṣetra area. It may be even a much later interpolation if we look into its details and a distinctly mediæval outlook

⁶¹ B. C. SEN, *op. cit.*, p. 21. Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha put the limit to Āryāvarta at Prayāga *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁶² Mbh. 3.83.2, 3.

⁶³ Mbh. 3.82.63, 66, 95, 113, 93; 83, 38, 39, 55, 62.

⁶⁴ Mbh. 3.80-85, 95.

⁶⁵ Mbh. 3.82.69.

Just as Gayā Māhātmya though inserted in the Vāyā Purāṇa has been proved after detailed examination to belong to the 13th or 14th⁶⁶ century, similarly some portions of the Pulastya tīrthayātrā like this Kṛnuṣṭra Adhyāya may prove to be later interpolations. The whole outlook and spirit of the Pulastya narration are different in kind from those of the Dhaumya narration. A man is awarded fabulous returns for the insignificant investment of bathing in some small pool of water. Pulastya tells in so many words that his enumeration is meant to substitute⁶⁷ tīrthas in place of costly yajñas requiring much wealth, collection of various articles and instruments and the efforts of many persons. As this is possible only for very rich individuals or kings, the tīrthayātrā is substituted for the benefit of indigent persons. While washing away of sins, providing for the ancestors and in general the acquisition of holy spirit were the benefits expected by visiting holy places in the Dhaumya age, anything and everything is made available in the Pulastya age, showing that now tīrthayātrā had become a business of idle Brahmins subsisting on the good deeds of their ancestors and using their good names as capital for plying their nefarious trade.

To come back to the geographical field, the pilgrim's itinerary detailed in these narrations and elsewhere in the Mahābhārata deserves comparative study. It throws some light on the roads which the Aryans took in their expansion. It appears that at first they took a northerly route when coming down the Gangetic basin. Instead of coming down to Agra from the Ambala-Delhi region they would go south-east by crossing the Ganges to the north of Hastināpura, and enter the Naimiṣa forest on the banks of the present Gomatī river, through what afterwards became Uttara Pāncāla country.⁶⁸ Then they would enter Kosala on the banks of Śarayū but would not go further. Thence they again took a south-eastern direction and after crossing the Ganges would go to Gayā.⁶⁹ Thence they returned along the southern banks of the Gaṅgā and the Yāmūnā. The small river Karmanāśā which one has to cross when going to Gayā from Benares probably keeps up the memory of the times when it was a religious offence to go beyond that boundary. When the Aryans

⁶⁶ B. M. BRAU, *Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, (1934), 1.64.

⁶⁷ Mbh. 3.80.34, 40.

⁶⁸ Mbh. 1.207.4, 7, 2.26.3, 4; 3.93.2, 5, 9.

⁶⁹ Mbh. 3.85.5, 6, 93.5, 9.

had taken the second step going beyond the original pale by crossing the river Sadānīrā, which may be either the Rapti or the Gandak, they still kept a northerly route as far as possible and that way reached Assam via north Bengal. The river Karatoyā⁷⁰ seems to have been their boundary on that side for some time. Thence they came down to the mouths⁷¹ of the river Ganges and took a south-westerly route through the present Orissa.⁷² A forest route⁷³ through Chhotā Nāgpur connecting the mouth of the river Ganges with Gayā seems to have been developed from an early time. But that was after the Aryans had already crossed the Vindhya. The first southern route seems to have been through the Central Provinces.⁷⁴ Thence via Berar and the Tapti valley, they seem to have entered Konkan.⁷⁵ Perhaps already a west coast sea-route had been in existence or was being developed by the forward Aryans. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the far-separated places along the coast in Dhaumya's southern itinerary. Cape Comorin⁷⁶ in the extreme south; Gokarna⁷⁷ some five hundred miles up to the north; thence again a leap of 350 miles to Sūrpāraka,⁷⁸ thence giving a clean sweep to the gulf of Cambay, to Prabhāsa-Pattan⁷⁹ in south Kathiawar—a distance of two hundred miles by the direct sea-route—; and finally Dvārakā,⁸⁰ the westernmost point of the same peninsula. This cannot be explained unless we imagine a direct sea-communication, because no intervening inland places have been noted by Dhaumya at all. The first land-route to the extreme south seems to have been developed along the eastern border. We have already noted that the Aryans had early reached mount Mahendra on the Bay of Bengal, presumably from the Citrakūṭa-Kālāñjara region in Bundelkhand which originally formed the Cedi country. A forest-route via Mount Amarakaṇṭaka, after visiting the sources⁸¹ of the rivers Narmadā and Śoṇ and passing through the Dakṣiṇa Kosala

⁷⁰ Mbh. 2.27.22, 24.

⁷¹ Mbh. 1.207.10, 13; 3.114.1, 2.

⁷² Mbh. 1.207.13; 3.114.3, 4, 26.

⁷³ Mbh. 1.207.1, 9, 11; 2.27.14, 16, 17, 20, 22, 23.

⁷⁴ Mbh. 3.83.8-16; 85.15, 16; 86.3-5.

⁷⁵ Mbh. 3.86.2-9.

⁷⁶ Mbh. 3.86.11; 1.209.11; 3.118.4.

⁷⁷ Mbh. 3.86.12; 1.209.24.

⁷⁸ Mbh. 3.86.9; 118.8; 1.210.1.

⁷⁹ Mbh. 3.86.17; 118.15; 1.210.2.

⁸⁰ Mbh. 3.86.21; 1.210.15.

⁸¹ Mbh. 3.83.8, 9.

seems to have reached Mahendra in Orissa. At present this route is represented roughly by the Katni-Bilaspur-Raipur-Ganjam railway line. Afterwards this point was joined to the westernmost mouth of the river Ganges by a route through Orissa but not along the sea coast. King Yuddhiṣṭhira, after bathing at the point where the Gangā reached the sea, came to Mahendra via this route, after crossing the river Vaitaraṇī.⁸² Arjuna also went on his round to Mahendra after crossing the Kalingas.⁸³ By the times of the Pulaṣṭya version, Śrī-Śaila⁸⁴ shrine on the Krishna to the south of the present Nizam's territories seems to have been also marked as their own by the Aryans. Agastya-tīrtha of the Dharmya narration seems to be represented by the Agastīampallī⁸⁵ just to the north of the Point Calimere at the south-east corner of the extreme south. From this point one can cross over to the extreme north-point of Ceylon by sailing for less than fifty miles.

Compared to later times, the Aryans of the *Mahābhārata* age were in close contact and communication with the trans-Himalayan⁸⁶ peoples. The sources of the Ganges and the Jumna were cherished and held fast and dear. Racial memories were still imbedded in the earlier homes beyond the borders of *Bhāratavarṣa*. Poets waxed eloquent over those icy, barren, blasted lands with imaginary fond memories. Fabulous things were talked of those lands and the peoples were often treated as either superhuman, non-human or godly. At the same time the Nepal valley does not seem to have been developed still. Kirāta⁸⁷ tribes were supposed to be living there and these were in regular communication with the Aryans. Kirāta women⁸⁸ were valued and sought for as slaves. But their forests were impenetrable and dangerous. The north-west with Kashmir⁸⁹ was more known and in constant communication. A trans-Himalayan plateau route from the sources of the Indus, the Sutlaj and the Brahmaputrā to the east seems to have been in existence from very early times. Skirting the north bank of the Brahmaputra on the Tibet plateau, it went to the north of Bhutan and thence descended into the

⁸² Mbh. 3.114.3, 4.

⁸³ Mbh. 1.207.13.

⁸⁴ Mbh. 3.83.16 'Śrī-parvata on the river bank' is to be identified with Śrī-Saila.

⁸⁵ Madras District Gazetteer—Tanjore (1906), p. 284. It has a temple of Agastya.

⁸⁶ Mbh. 2.23, 24, 25; 3.140-153; 155, 160, 163, 164.

⁸⁷ Mbh. 2.27.13; 23.19.

⁸⁸ Mbh. 2.48.10.

⁸⁹ Mbh. 2.24; 48.3, 14.

Assam valley and Bengal. Arjuna came in along this road and conquered Bhagadatta,⁹⁰ the Mleccha king of Prāg-jyotiṣa (Eastern Light) in his northern conquest. This indirectly supports the theory that the Aryans had not gone beyond the Sadānira in those early times. For the rest the itineraries of the four Pāṇḍava brothers in their conquest of the quarters seem to have been much tampered with and full of later interpolations, taking even a cursory view of the same.

What strikes a student of geography as strange is the support of Kālidāsa to the existence of the same early path in his itinerary of King Raghu.⁹¹ Raghu also in his conquests *did not cross* the Ganges,⁹² but went to the conquest of the south instead, from the mouths of that river. After finishing the south, the west up to Persia⁹³ and the north-west, he after passing along Mount Kailāsa⁹⁴ on the Tibet plateau, crosses the Brahmaputra (Lohityā)⁹⁵ into Prāg-jyotiṣa, which is again treated as separate from Kāmarūpa⁹⁶ or the present Assam valley. The commentator Mallinātha is clear on this point, but all the later scholars have confused and identified Prāg-jyotiṣa with Kāmarūpa.⁹⁷

Certain broad facts thus emerge from our study. First that the Aryans had, before going to the east, crossed over into the Deccan. Secondly that the southern land route lay along the east-coast and through the centre of the peninsula. Thirdly the west coast was probably discovered by the sea-route. Fourthly the sandy tracts of upper Rajaputana were early colonized. And lastly that a great trans-Himalayan route was in constant use from these early times.

Identifications of various points and places with filling in of details, together with the naming in of countries, wild tracts, mountains, rivers and lakes, will form a separate study.

⁹⁰ Mbh. 2.23.17-19, 47.12, 13.

⁹¹ *Raghuvaṃśa* IV.

⁹² *Ibid.*, IV. 36.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, IV. 60.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, IV. 80.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 81.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, IV. 83-4.

⁹⁷ Hemacandra in his *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi* (IV.22) says, "Prāg-jyotiṣāḥ kāmārūpāḥ", but from the *Mahābhārata* and *Raghuvaṃśa* data, Prāg-jyotiṣa seems to have included the slopes of the Himalayas with Nepal, Bhutan as well as Assam, together with the Tibet plateau adjoining these.

MAHĀBHĀRATA CITATIONS IN THE ŚABARA BHĀṢYA

By

V. M. APTE and D. V. GARGE

§1. Śabara's Bhāṣya on the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā sūtras of Jaimini is replete with verse—and prose—quotations from Vedic literature. From post-Vedic literature the number of verse-quotations (quoted in full or in part) is only twenty-six, prose-quotations being almost negligible. Of these twenty-six, one is from the Nirukta¹; two occur in the fairly late Pāṇinīya Śikṣā² and the remaining verses are either *subhāṣitas* or elucidate some technical points. The latter for the most part, appear to have been drawn from the floating mass of poetic dicta—proverbial or technical—as is clear from their introductory remarks like 'evam āmananti', 'ślokaṃ apy udāharanti', 'ślokaś ca bhavati', etc.³

§2. Only three of these metrical passages appear to have been borrowed from the Mahābhārata. Of these two are traced to other texts also and the third appears to be the paraphrase of a verse-part from the Mbh.⁴ 2.59.11. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss the various problems connected with these apparent citations from the Mahābhārata. We shall therefore take them one after another :

§3. [api ca svāminas tayā karma kartavyam. na tat parityajya sva-karmārhati kartum. yat tayānyena prakāreṇopārjyate tat patyur eva svam bhavitum arhatīti, evaṃ smarati :]

bhāryā dāsaś ca putraś ca, nirdhanāḥ sarva eva te |

yat te samadhigacchanti, yasya te tasya tad dhanam || iti |

—Śabara on JS VI.1.12.

Translation.—[(Again), it is the duty of a woman to work for her husband ; it does not behove her to neglect it and do any work on her own account. In fact, whatever she might earn in any other manner would be the property of her husband. There is a *smṛti*-passage (to the same effect) :] 'The wife, the slave and the son—all are devoid of (the right to) property ; whatever they earn is the property of him to whom they themselves belong.'

¹ 2.4.

² See verses Nos. 9 and 52.

³ Vide Bhāṣya on JS. IV.iii. 2, IV. iv. 24 ; IV.iv.28, etc.

⁴ The references are throughout to the Critical Edition, unless otherwise specified.

Context : The question discussed by the Bhāṣya on JS VI.1.6-16 is whether or not women are entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices. The Pūrvapakṣin argues that they are not, because they cannot independently undertake a sacrificial performance which involves the use and dispensation of family-property to which they have no right. The above verse has been quoted as an authority on this point, since it purports to say that a woman must do the work of her husband ; she should not labour on her own account, to the neglect thereof. Anything she earns (for herself) in some other manner [i.e. by cooking or stitching (for other people)], becomes the property of her husband alone. [The Siddhāntin, of course, refutes this view by pointing out two passages from the Śruti⁵ (the final authority in such matters) to the effect that women do possess such a right and consequently are entitled to perform sacrificial rites prescribed in the Vedic texts.]

Notes : Our verse has parallels in the Manusmṛiti VIII.416 as well as in the Mahābhārata i.77.22 (repeated again in 5.33.57). This is just what is expected as the present verse is introduced with the words *evam smarati*, which clearly indicate that it is a *smṛti*-passage rather than a *śruti*-one. This, however, leaves the question open as to which of the two above-mentioned texts (the Manusmṛiti or the Mbh.) is the source of our quotation, because the term *smṛti* is wide enough to cover both the texts. [See the Bhāṣya on JS X. iv.23 where *smarjate* refers to *Itihāsa*s and *Purāṇa*s under which general category we include the Mbh. ; or the Mbh. may be said to be included under the wide term *śiṣṭācāra* (Bhāṣya on JS I.iii.5-7) ; works falling under which category are placed under the *smṛti*-class as the *Vārtikakāra* (Kumārila) actually does, when he illustrates *śiṣṭācāra* by references to the contents of the Mbh.-stories]. Hence we must discuss the reading of the verse to settle the problem of the source-text :—

Manu's version differs very slightly from the Bhāṣya-one and that only in the first hemistich (*cb*) which runs :—

bhāryā putrāś ca dāśāś ca nirdhanāḥ sarva eva te ;

the second hemistich (*cd*) being identical. Mbh. 1.77.22ab (=V.33.57ab)

⁵ Vide Bhāṣya on JS. VI.1.16 : (1) " *Patnī vai pūrṇāyasyaśete palyaiva galamanumatāṁ kriyate* ". (cf. TS 6.2.1.1) ; (2) " *Jāghanyaṁ patnīḥ samvājayanti, bhavadvīryaṁ hi patnayoḥ bhavadvīryaṁ vā etāḥ paraḥhananā śvayamavarudhanta itī*."

has a different version of the first hemistich of the Bhāṣya quotation :—

traya evādhanā rājan bhāryā dāsas tathā sutah | ;

cd in both the *parvans* are each identical with the *cd* of the Bhāṣya-version. The critical apparatus, in the critical edition of the Mbh., gives the following variants under I.77.22b : D₁T₂G₆ transp. *tathā* and *sutah* and the following under V.33.57b : D₁ *bhāryā dāsas tathā sutāḥ*. The following variants are recorded in the critical apparatus under I. 77.22^d and 5.33.57^d respectively :

Ñ_{1,2} B₁ Dn D_{1,4} S *gasyaite* and D_{1,7} S (except T₁G₂,
ete (for *te*).

Though the second hemistich of the Mbh.-verse in the two *parvans* in which it occurs thus agrees with the corresponding part of our verse, the first one differs inasmuch as *pādas a* and *b* exchange places and *nirdhanāḥ sarva eva te* (=the *b* of the Bhāṣya-version) is not supported in the *b* of either the critical edition or any of the other editions, as seen from the extracts from the critical apparatus quoted above.⁶ It is true that the Manusmṛti-version also differs from the Bhāṣya-one, since it has *putrāś ca dāsas ca* instead of *dāsas ca putrāś ca* in the Bhāṣya ; but the change is merely of the nature of an exchange of places between the two words and therefore insignificant and inconsequential. One must also bear in mind that in śabara's quotations, *strict adherence to the order of words in the original or exactness of reproduction is often wanting* as the study of all quotations from the earlier literature—Vedic and post-Vedic—in the Bhāṣya reveals. So then the Manusmṛti-version rather than the Mbh.-one, of 'the floating proverbial wisdom of the philosophical and legal schools which already existed in metrical form',⁷ is nearer to our verse ; and this is in keeping with the

⁶ Is it possible to draw any inference regarding the comparative dignity of the " *bhāryā* " in the eyes of the author according as he puts in immediate juxtaposition the word for a servant or a son after the word for the wife ? It may be noted that the Mbh.-order of the three words is nearer to the order in the *Sabara Bhāṣya*.

⁷ BÜHLER SBE25.XC. While discussing the relation of the *Manusmṛti* and the *Mbh.*, Bühler rightly observes that the conclusion that " the materials, on which both works are based, were not systematic treatises on law and philosophy, but floating proverbial wisdom is ' made unavoidable by the peculiar character of the differences found in closely connected *ślokas*, by the occurrence of identical lines and *pādas* in verses whereof the general sense differs, and by the faint shadowy resemblance in words and ideas, observable in other pieces ".

words 'evam smarati' with which the quotation is introduced—a form of introduction not used by the Bhāṣya while quoting from the Cūṭa Epic, as will be seen from the next two citations from that work. (See also our remarks at the end).

§4. The second quotation occurs in the following Bhāṣya passage :—
 [yat putrasya phalam ātmanḥ sū pīṭhī.....
 eṣām evātmanah pritim abhipretya bhavati vachanaṁ ātmā vai putra ' iti ;]
 aṅgād aṅgāt sambhavasī hṛdayād abhi jāyase]
 ātmā vai putranāmāsi sa jīva śaradaḥ śatam|| iti.

—Śābara on JS. IV,iii,38.

Translation : [Whatever good result accrues to the son, it brings pleasure to the (father's) self.....It is with reference to this very pleasure of (the father himself) that such assertions are made as : " The son is verily (one's own) self ' and] ' Thou art horn (limb by limb), from each limb of mine ; art generated from my heart ; thou art my own Self with the name *putra* ; mayest thou live for a hundred autumns'

Context : In the course of a description of the *vaiśvānaresī*, the Taittirīya Saṁhitā 2.2.5. lays down that the reward in the form of glory and wealth arising from it, accrues not to the sacrificer himself but to his son—a person different from the sacrificer. In this connection, the Bhāṣya observes that the apportionment may be strange but not incongruous as the son is too closely related to the father, to be treated as a different entity. The father again has all his interests (spiritual and material) centered in the son. This proposition is next supported by the above citation which purports to say that the son is born from out of the limbs of the father as it were, and is generated from his heart ; (in short) he is (his own) Self reproduced with the name, *putra* i.e. ' son '.

Notes : Now the earliest text where this verse occurs in an almost identical form is a *Śruti*—one viz. the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁸ wherein its two hemistiches have been commented upon in two separate places. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa version of the verse is found also in the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇopaniṣad⁹, in the Āśvalāyana-¹⁰, Hiranyaṅkeśi-¹¹, Mānava-¹², and Pāraskara-¹³—Grhaysūtras, in the Āpastamba Mantra-Brāhmaṇa¹⁴, in the Nirukta¹⁵. All these texts read adhi-jāyase instead of the Bhāṣya

⁸ 14.9.4.8,26.

⁹ 2.11.

¹⁰ 1.15.9.

¹¹ 2.3.2.

¹² 1.18.6.

¹³ 1.18.2.

¹⁴ 2.11.33.

¹⁵ 3.4.

abhi-jāyase in the second *pāda*. The *Mbh.* verse (I.68.62) has, however, an absolutely identical version.

Now, it is interesting to note that for the *Mbh.* verse, the critical apparatus gives the following account of variants in *pāda* 6 :

K₀ N V₁ B₁ D (except D_{1,2}) S⁰ *yōdadhijō*⁰

The variant *adhijāyase* which is more in agreement with the Vedic texts enumerated above, has been rejected by the Editor. There may thus have been a deliberate attempt on the part of the copyists of the Mss., whose evidence is rejected, to restore the citation to its Vedic form. This is an illustration of one of the tendencies responsible for the *differentiae* in some Mss. of the Mahābhārata, to which attention has been drawn by Dr. APTE in his article 'Rgveda Citations in the Mahābhārata,' in the following words¹⁶: "The question, whether a passage from an early Vedic text is a citation with or without modifications is further complicated except in the critically edited *parvans* by the peculiar, though interesting circumstance that some manuscript variants actually restore the citations to their pristine purity. In the *parvans* already critically edited, we know exactly what reading of the suspected citation is favoured by the manuscript evidence and thus are in a position to decide at once, whether we have to deal with a citation or an *ūho*. But in the case of other *parvans* not so edited yet, this is by no means certain unless one examines the manuscript collations for that *parvan*. The fact, nevertheless, that some manuscripts give a version identical with the source-passages in its original form throws an interesting sidelight on the tendencies at work responsible for the *differentiae* in some manuscripts" We shall not therefore be wrong to suppose that the *Mbh.* is the source of Śabara's quotation rather than any one of the earlier Vedic texts mentioned above. However, the possibility, though remote, is not excluded, that Śabara is quoting inaccurately from one of the Vedic texts !

5. Now follow two separate passages in the Bhāṣya both containing our third quotation in two separate contexts :—

1. [dṛṣṭoviruddham api bhavoti kīncidvācanam, pōtracayanam vidhō-yōha : sa eṣa yojñāyudhū yajamāno 'ñjasā svargam lokaṁ yāti' iti prot-yakṣoṁ śarīraṁ vyapadiśati. na co tat svargam lokaṁ yōkti. pratya-kṣam hi taddahyote..... evamjātiyakam pramāṇoviruddham

¹⁶ A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to Prof. P. V. KANE, p. 28.

vacanamapramāṇam] 'ambuni majjantyalābūni, grāvūnaḥ plavanta' iti yathā.

—Śabara on JS. I.i.5.

Translation : [(Further), there are certain passages in the Veda which declare something that goes counter to direct preception ; (for instance), when having enjoined the collection of sacrificial implements (on the death of the sacrificer), the Veda says that 'the sacrificer thus equipped with the sacrificial implements goes straight to the heavenly world', it pointedly refers to the dead body. Now, the body never goes to the heavenly world as it is burnt before our very eyes. A statement of this type, opposed to direct evidence, is as unauthoritative] as statement like 'gourds sink in water (and) stones float?'

2. [*Nam, vaidikāni karmāṇi phalavanti bhavantityevam uktam. ucyate, phaladarśanāt tāni phalavantityuktam, na vaidikatoṣāt. evaṁ tarhi kartavyatāvagamāt phalavantīty adhyavasyāmah. sukḥaphalam hi kartavyam bhavati, ucyate, pratyakṣavairuddhamēvāmjāṭīyakasya kartavyatvam. sākṣād dhi tad duḥkḥaphalam avagacchāmah. na caivāmjāṭīyakam pratyakṣavairuddham vacanam pramāṇam bhavati.*] yathā'mbuni majjanty alābūni, śīlaḥ plavante, pāvakaḥ śīta' iti.

Śabara on JS. IV.iii.10.

Translation : [(If it be objected), 'it has been declared that acts prescribed in the Veda are fruitful',—the answer is that the acts have been determined as fruitful because of the actual mention of the reward (following their prescription); not simply because they have been prescribed in the Veda. (If the objector now says), 'even so, we determine that they must yield rewards because they are known as prescribed (in the Vedas). A prescribed act must bring about a happy result. In answer to this (Pūrvaśakṣin continues): Then the prescriptive character of such an act is opposed to the direct evidence of the senses, because it is directly perceived that it yields disagreeable results. No prescriptive statement of this type that is opposed to the direct evidence of the senses, can have authority,] like the statement (in common parlance) 'gourds sink in water, stones float, and fire is cold' (which can have no authority whatsoever).

Context : (1) On JS I.i.5, the Bhāṣya leads up to the Siddhānta-view that Vedic statements are infallible and hence they alone are the final

authority in religious matters, after a rebuttal of the Pūrvapakṣin's argument that since there is many an irrational and absurd statement found here and there in the Veda, it cannot have any injunctive force. To illustrate his point of view, the Pūrvapakṣin selects the *Śruti* statement, 'sa esa yajñāyudhī yajamāno'ñjasā svargaṁ lokaṁ yāti' [=This sacrificer after death equipped with sacrificial implements, goes straight to heaven'], as an example of sheer absurdity, because it declares something which is inconsistent with the direct evidence of the senses. The dead body along with the sacrificial implements, is actually burnt to ashes! The *Śruti*-statement therefore, can be matched only by an irrational and absurd statement in common parlance, like the one quoted above, which means 'gourds sink in water and stones float!' [This argument has been answered of course, by the Siddhāntin by the postulation of an immortal soul which disentangles itself from the mortal frame, long before it is burnt up and is therefore in a position to go upto heaven equipped with all the implements in a subtle (or *liṅga*) form.]

(ii) The purport of the second passage and its context are as follows :— In the course of a discussion under JS IV.iii:10, regarding the rewards of Vedic injunctions, the Pūrvapakṣin points out that there are certain injunctions in the Veda, like 'sa viśvayjñātīrātrena sarvapr̥sthenā sarvasatomena sarvavedasadaḥṣiṇena yajeta',¹⁷ which includes no reference to any reward for the act enjoined therein. How on earth could a man be persuaded to undertake an elaborate undertaking like the *viśvayjñ* sacrifice which not only brings no reward but on the contrary (positive) misery (owing to the giving away of all property as *daḥṣiṇā*)? This passage thus enjoins something very unpractical and competes in its ignorance of human nature and absurdity with the secular passage quoted above.¹⁸ [The Siddhāntin, however, postulates heaven as the general reward for all sacrificial rites for which no specific reward has been mentioned, and thus provides a human motive or purpose.]

Notes : As regards the quotation 'ambunt etc.', occurring in these two places in the Bhāṣya we find that the two versions are varying

¹⁷ cf. Ap. 14.23.1.

¹⁸ We would like to point out that the *subhāṣita* as an example of an irrational statement is not very aptly quoted here in support because a psychological error in making a prescriptive statement incomplete owing to a serious omission, is not on a par with a patent absurdity that goes counter to an actually observed fact. The *subhāṣita* is quoted in a comparatively better context in the former of the two places in the *Bhāṣya*.

paraphrases of a part of the Mbh.—verse 2.59.11", the whole of which reads as :

*majjanty alābūni śītāḥ plavante
muhyanti nāvo'mbhasi śaśvad eva |
mūḍho rājā Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya putrah
na me vācaḥ pathyarūpāḥ śṛṇoti ||*

We now take up for discussion, the treatment of this original in two separate contexts in the Bhāṣya ; one after another :

[No. 2 above]. Bhāṣya on JS IV.iii. 10 : Śabara has spoilt the metrical character of the first *pāda* of this verse while quoting it, by prefixing *ambuni* to it. He did so apparently to avoid quoting the second line which contains the necessary synonymous word *ambhasi* and to make it self-sufficient in its sense and syntax. If we remove *ambuni* in the beginning and the additional words *pāvakaḥ śītāḥ* at the end of the quotation, we restore the original metrical form ; but the additions at the two extremities give the whole passage so different an appearance that the original Mbh. verse-part becomes very hard to detect.

[No. 1 above]. Bhāṣya on JS I.i.5 : Here there is no extra addition at the end but the restoration of the original metrical form after the removal of the prefixed *ambuni*, is still not possible, because the Bhāṣya here makes a substitution namely, '*grāvāṇaḥ*' for '*śītāḥ*', and thus completely obliterates the metrical character of the original verse-statement.

§6. Thus we find two unquestioned quotations from the Mbh. occurring in the Bhāṣya. The introductory formula in both these cases, is simply *vacanam* (= 'so it is stated') and is distinct from that which introduces a quotation from recognized *smṛti*-works. Though a number of treatises dealing with religious topics incidentally, like the Mbh., are also included under the term '*smṛti*' (used in its wider sense), Śabara appears to be making a distinction between such treatises and those that deal principally with religion like the *smṛti*-works of Manu and earlier Vedic works like the Sūtras, from the manner of his introduction of quotations from the former class of works which are never introduced with words like *evam smaranti, iti smaryate*, etc. Such a distinction was mainly due to the fact that the hieratic contents of the *smṛtis* of Manu and others, endowed them with greater authority in the eyes of the Bhāṣyakāra than

was warranted to the Mbh. inspite of its relatively earlier chronological position, *vis a-vis*, the former works. Some parts of the Great Epic may be even older than some parts of the *Manusmṛti* and are definitely so than the later *Smṛtis*. The Mbh. is as much a *Dharmaśāstra* as an *Itihāsa*, but the popular (and therefore less authoritative !) character of the Epic, recited as it was, before all types of people—the classes and the masses,—apparently lowered its authority as compared to the *Smṛtis* in the eyes of the Bhāṣyakāra. This has an exact parallel in the inferior authority attaching to the *Atharvaveda* as compared with *Sāma-* and *Yajur-vedas* irrespective of any consideration of relative chronology.

ON THE SOURCES OF VILLIPUTTŪRĀR-BHĀRATAM

By

C. R. SANKARAN and K. RAMA VARMA RAJA

In this paper an attempt is made to compare the Tamil *Villiputtūrār-bhāratam* with the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata** with special reference to the Southern manuscript versions in order to throw light on the important question whether and how far the Tamil work is based upon the Great Epic as it was known to its author. We have confined ourselves only to an examination of the Ādiparvan and we have used the excellent edition of V. M. GOPALAKRṢṆAMĀCĀRYA's *villiputtūrār-bhāratam*.

Apparently, Villiputtūrār who lived in the latter part of the 14th century A.D. intended to write an epitome of the great work and he had before him an already abridged version in Agastya Pandita's *Bālabhārata*, a poem in 20 cantos relating the whole story of the *Mahābhārata* beginning with the origin of the Kuru line of kings from the Moon. This Agastya was a poet at the court of King Pratāparudradeva of Warangal¹ and was probably patronised by King Sangama and Bukka I of Vijayanagar. Agastya's poem is said to be highly musical,² and remarkable for its felicity of expression. The Tamil work is also equally remarkable for both these qualities.

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¹ Villiputtūrār lived in the latter part of the 14th century A.D. Vide V. M. GOPALAKRṢṆAMĀCĀRYA's edition, p. 9.

² M. KRṢṆAMĀCĀRYĀR, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, p. 214. We had no access to *Bālabhārata* either in print or in manuscript. All the references to *Bālabhārata* in this paper are based on statements found in V. M. GOPALAKRṢṆAMĀCĀRYĀR's edition of the Tamil work, in the Tamil commentary provided therein. It is therefore needless to point out that the problem of the indebtedness of Villiputtūrār to Agastya itself requires a more thorough and detailed investigation and requires a special and separate treatment.

It must be noted here that Villiputtūrār himself says that he based his work on the Mahābhārata. Cf.

kaṇṇapāḥameykalippaṭōraḷappirōḷkātāinun
bonṇapāvalanru kaḷarucukaṇṇiruttātai
yāṇabhāratantaṇṇaiyōr ariōḷēnuraippa
tenṇapāvamarṇṇai yīṇen colatulaḷē
Taccitappāppayiram stanza 5.

"What will not the world say exclaiming 'what a folly!' since I, a fool, have ventured to write the Bhārata, the old sacred story composed by the famous Vyāsa, father of the flawless Śuka".

In the following stanzas (6, 7 and 8) he says further that Vyāsa's great work is equal to the Veda, immeasurable in extent and Villiputtūrār composing this work again would look like a dumb person enquiring of the extent of the vast expanse of the sky or a blind man attempting to see it. "Vyāsa who knew fully all the Vedas has composed the famous epic. To render it in Tamil, I would mar its charm through infelicitous expressions. May the learned forgive this fault of mine. Gods and sages well versed in the sacred lore are engaged in fathoming the inexhaustible charm of Vyāsa's work. What can I understand in this? But I have ventured to write only because Mādhava's story is met with at every stage here."

maṇṇumādhavan caritamum iṭaiyitai vaḷanḷu
menṇumācaiṇāl yāṇumitiyamputarḱicaiṇṇē
ib. stanza 8, lines 3 and 4³.

One is tempted to compare these lines with the following, which D₄ m. 9 (incomplete), 10¹/₁₂ T. G (except G 1, 6, 7) insert after 1.1.23 in the Mbh. (notes p. 7).

namo bhagavate tasmai Vyāsāyāmitatejase
yasya prasādād vakṣyāmi Nārāyaṇakāthāṁam.

What is important in these introductory stanzas of the Tamil work is that there is not even one reference to Agastya's Bālabhārata. Of course the *argumentum ex silentio* is notoriously fragile. In this connection we might mention that in stanza 17 of the first Sarga Villiputtūrār refers to the extensive Yayātyupākhyāna found in the Mbh. (1.70.80) which seems to have been omitted altogether by Agastya.

³ Cf. stanza 1. Sambhava Sarga, cf. stanza 1. Vāraṇavata Sarga.

In the first Sarga, the Kurukula Saiga of the Tamil work we meet with a puzzling statement that Candra was born to the fire *cittirakkanan mukattinum pirantoliarantōn* (stanza 5, line 4) Soma and Agni are reckoned as joint fathers of gold⁴ Soma is the son of Ati.⁵ A large number of scholars agree that in a few of the latest hymns of the *RgVeda* (the 1st and 10th books), Soma is already identified with the Moon. In the post-Vedic literature, Soma is a regular name of the Moon. Now, if the 'Vena' hymn of the *RgVeda* (X. 123) is looked upon as a hymn to Soma, then it may be pointed out that v 2 refers to Vena as the son of the Sun. Villiputtūrār has probably this as his basis and some purāṇic version too.⁶ In the *Harivamśa* also there is an allusion to the Moon being born to Ati.⁷

In the seventh stanza there is an allusion to Manu's son Ilā being metamorphosed into a girl (Tamil Ilai corresponding to Sanskrit Ilā) through a curse of Pārvatī as he entered into a prohibited forest. In the *Mahābhārata*, Ilā is spoken of as *Vaivasvata* Manu's offspring —

*Venam Dhr̥ṣṇum Nartsyantam Nābhāgeṣvāḥum eva ca
Kaiṇsam atha Śaryātum tathauvātrastamim Ilām
Pisadhr̥ṇavamān āhuh ksatriadharmaparāyanān
Nābhāgānistadasamān manoh putrān mahā-bajān*

Mahābhārata I 70 13-14.

In the *Bālābhārata* Ilā is said to be the offspring of *Carddama* Rsi.

In the 19th stanza, we are told that Yayāti fell in love with Sarmisthā and took her by the Gāndharva form of marriage secretly without the knowledge of his wife Devayānī. In the *Mahābhārata* we are told that

⁴ E. W. HOPKINS, *Epic Mythology*, p. 147

⁵ *Ibid* p. 90 A. A. MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 112.

⁶ We owe this account of the relationship of Soma-Candra and the Sun (the same as the celestial form of Agni) to Prof. V. M. APPI.

⁷ Cf. *netrābhyām vāri surāva dasadhā dyōtayaś dīśah
tam garbhāni dasadhā hr̥stā dīśo devyō dadhuh tatah
samelva dhārāyāmāsū na caulās tam āśakṇvan
sa tābhyas sahasavātha dyōbhyo garbhāt prabhānvatah
papāta pāvayan lokān sītāśūśah surabhāvanah*

Mallinātha's Commentary on stanza 75, Canto 2, *Raghuvamśa*.

Śukrācārya while giving Devayānī in marriage to Yayāti asked him to look after Śarmiṣṭhā, but not to marry her.

*Iyam cāpi kumārī te Śarmiṣṭhā vārṣaparvaṇi
Sampūjya satatam rājan mā cainām śayane hwayeḥ
Mahābhārata 1.76.34.*

In the Southern Manuscripts we have a slight amplification, besides substitution

*Iyam kumārī Śarmiṣṭhā duhitā vṛṣaparvaṇah
tām pūjayethā mā cainām śayane vai samāhvaya
rahasy enām samāhūya na vader na ca samsptṛṣṭh
vahasva bhāryām bhādrām te yathākāman avāpsyasi
Critical notes on 1.76.34 Mhb. (p. 347).*

In regard to Śarmiṣṭhā giving birth to Pūru and Śukrācārya cursing Yayāti and at the same time telling him that Yayāti might exchange his old age, the Tamil Bhāratam (stanzas 21-23) agrees with the original Mahābhārata (1.70.32, 1.78.30, 1.78.40).

In stanza 30 of the Tamil work there is an allusion to Indradyumna becoming an elephant and Anuru becoming a crocodile. From Moon (Candra) to Vicitravīrya the genealogy is in agreement with that found in Bālabhārata. After Hastin, the next name mentioned is Kuru in the Bālabhārata. We might incidentally mention that this stanza 30 is suspected to be an interpolation by some scholars. But there are no decisive arguments for this view. There are two different accounts of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava line in the Mahābhārata itself. According to one, Hastin is the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra⁸ and Kuru is an ancestor of Hastin.⁹ According to the other account Hastin is an ancestor of Kuru and was the founder of Hāstinapuram,¹⁰ Kuru being Hastin's great-grandson's

⁸ Dhṛtarāṣṭrotha rājānī tasya putrāṣṭha Kurūḥ
Hastī Vīrāḥ Krāthai cu Kaṇḍolāś cāpi pañcamah
Mbh. 1.89.31.

⁹ tatas samvaramāt Saurī suṣuve tapatī kurum
Mbh. 1.89.42 ab.

¹⁰ Cf. verses 28 and 29 of the Kuru-kula Sarga of the Tamil Bhārata.
suhotraḥ khalu lḥvāḥkūm upayena suvarṇām nāma |
tasyām aya jafne Hastī | ya idam Hāstinapuram māpayā-
nānu || etad aya hāstina-paratoma ||
Mbh. 1.90.36.

son.¹¹ In the original Mahābhārata Indrasena is mentioned in the Kuru-Pāṇḍava line of kings,¹² but there is no mention of his having been cursed. Anuru's name is not found in that line.

In stanza 59 of the Tamil work it is stated that Varuṇa who looked at the limbs of Gaṅgā in the open court of the gods was cursed by Brahmā to be born on the earth and be Gaṅgā's husband (stanza 60). In the Mahābhārata however we find that it was Mahābhīṣa and not Varuṇa who was cursed thus :

*atha Gaṅgā saricchreṣṭhā sanupāyāt Piṭamaham
tasyā vasaḥ samudhūtam mārutena śaṣiprabham
tato' bhavan suragaṇāḥ sahasāvāṇmukhās tadā
Mahābhīṣas tu rājarṣir aṣaṅko dr̥ṣṭavān nadim
apadhyāto bhagavatā brahmaṇā sa māhabhīṣaḥ
ukṭas ca jāto martyeṣu punarlokānavāpsyasi*

1.91.4, 5 and 6.¹³

The Bālabhārata also follows the same trend. In stanza 85 of the Tamil work we are told that when Śantanu is hit by the arrow sent by Devavrata, the king faints and falls down¹⁴ and Gaṅgādevī makes her appearance and takes the king in her lap, with great compassion. She is compared to Lakṣmī being born with the moon, from the milky ocean like a creeper with beautiful flowers.

ōtaveṇṭiraiyin matiṇṇutanutitta vonumalarkkōtiyena

Here apparently Devavrata is compared to the moon also. Bālabhārata has *nidhinevā lakṣmīḥ*. Hence the commentator suggests that there might

¹¹ *Saṁvaranaḥ khalu vaiśaravaṇiṁ tapatiṁ nāmapayame'tasyāmasya jājñe Kuruḥ||*

Mbh. 1.90.40.

¹² *Indrasenaḥ Suteśasca Bhīmasasca nūmatāḥ*

Mbh. 1.89.48. cd.

¹³ After 6, D₄ (marg. sec. m.) S (D₄ C₂ oxn. line 1.) ins. :

*manuṣyeṣu ciraṁ sthito' lokaṁ prāpsyasi śobhanān
yayā hṛtamanāś cāsi Gaṅgayā tvam sadumate
sā te vai mānuṣe loke vipitijānny ācarīsyati
yudā te bhavitā manyus tadā 'śāpādvimokṣyase.*

¹⁴ *sa tu tam pitaram dr̥ṣṭvā mohayāmāsa māyayā.*

Mbh. 1.94.27 ab.

have been another reading too as *nitiṇṇaṇ ulitta* instead of *matiyulaṇ-tilla*.¹⁵ In the Mahābhārata however there is no such comparison.

In stanza 105 of the Tamil work there is a reference to a divine nymph becoming a fish [through the curse of a sage¹⁶] who thinking it to be food had swallowed the semen let down by Vasu. Here the sage (muni) referred to is apparently Brahmā.¹⁷ While we meet with a simple statement of the death of Śantanu in the Mahābhārata,¹⁸ we are told in stanza 113 of the Tamil work that Destiny through old age raised Śantanu to heaven while Bhīṣma installed Citrāngada on the throne thinking that for the earth he alone should be the ruler.— Cf.

tato vidhir viśrasayopagūḍham
ṇarendram āropayati sma nāḱam
bhīṣmo' pi śastrāstravidam kuṁāram
citrāṅgadam pauravarājyapīṭham [Bālabhārataṁ.]

In stanza 114 of the Tamil work we are told that Citrāngada was killed by a Gandharva king one night, for stealing his name. Here the suggestion is clearly that the Gandharva king came at night solely on account of the fear he had for Bhīṣma, whom therefore he wanted to avoid meeting. In the Bālabhārata also we are told that the Gandharva king killed Citrāngada in Bhīṣma's absence. But there is a difference in the two narratives.

¹⁵ 'Nidhi' treasure is possibly Kaustubhamani and not so much *amṛta*, nectar. We owe this suggestion to Prof. V. M. Apte.

¹⁶ *orunṇiṇṇaṇṇūl*.

¹⁷ Cf. *tatrādriḱṣeti vīṅhyātā Brahmāśapād varasparūḥ*
nīnabhūvam anuprāpīa babhūva Yamunācārī
śyenaṇḍāḍṇaḥ śhrāṇṇam tad vīṅyam otha vāsavam
jagrāha taravapetya sādriḱā matsyopūḥṇī.

Mbh. 1.57.47 and 48.

¹⁸ *apṛāptavati tasminś ca yauvanam bhāratarābha*
sa rājā Śantanur dhīmān kṣāladharmam apyeyōṇ
svargate Śantanau Bhīṣmāś Citrāṅgadam arṇadamam
siḥapayāmāsa vai rājya Satyavatyā mate sthitoḥ.

Mbh. 1.95.4 and 5.

According to the Bālabhārata version, Citrāṅgada was killed in a battle although in Bhīṣma's absence.

*asannidhaṃ sindhubhūvaḥ svañmānā
gandharvavaryeṇa rane nijaghne.*

The Mahābhārata version is: Citrāṅgada having conquered all mortal kings wanted to conquer the immortals, but he was overpowered by a Gandharva of the same name after a fierce battle lasting three years on the banks of the Hiraṇvatī. It is not stated that Bhīṣma was absent from the battle-scene as is mentioned in the Bālabhārata.

*sa tu Citrāṅgadaś 'sauryaṭ sarvāms cikṣepa pāthivān
manuṣyam na hi mene sa kṣāncil sadṛśam ātmanaḥ
tam kṣipantam surāms caiva manuṣyān āsurāns tathā
gandharvanājo balavāms tulyanāmā' bhyagāt tadā
tenāsya sumahad yuddham kuruṣetre babhūva ha
tayoṛ balavato tatra gandharvakuṛumukhyayoḥ
nadyāstīre hiraṇvatyāḥ samās tiso' bhavad raṇaḥ
tasmin vimarḍe tumule śastravṛṣṭisamāhule
māyādhiḥko' vadhūd vīram gandharvaḥ kuruṣattamam*

1.95.6-9. Mbh. ¹⁹

Apparently in stanza 116 of the Tamil work we meet with an elaboration of the idea contained in 'vicitravīryastu tadā bhīṣmasya vacane sthitaḥ anvaśāsanmahārāja pitṛpaitāmahaṃ padam' 1.95.13 Mbh. In the Tamil work we are told that Vicitravīrya in the matter of ruling the kingdom was following all the injunctions of Bhīṣma and this state of affairs appeared like the process by which (= *jīvātman*) rises before the Paramātman. We do not meet with this expressive simile in the Mahābhārata.

*Cf. sa dharmasāstraḥśalo Bhīṣmam śāntanavam nṛpaḥ
pūjayāmāsa dharmeṇa sa caīnam pratyaḥpālayat*

1.95.14 Mbh.

¹⁹ After 7 cd, D₄ (marg.) S insert:

*tvam vai sadṛśanāmāsi yuddhāt dehi nṛpātmano
nāma vānyat pragr̥hṇīṣva yodā yuddham na dāsyasi
tvyāham yuddham icchāmi tvatsakāśāt tu nāmataḥ
āgato'smi vṛthābhāṣyo na gacchen nāmato mayā
ityukto' garjanānu tau hiraṇyāṇīramā'stītu*

have been another reading too as *nitiyutaṇ ulitta* instead of *matiyutaṇ-
titta*.¹⁵ In the Mahābhārata however there is no such comparison.

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Cf.

tato vidhūr viśrasayopagūḍham
narendram āropayati sma nāḥam
bhīṣmo' pi śāstrāstravidam kumāram
citrāṅgadam pauravarājyapitham [Bālabhārataṁ].

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¹⁶ *arumugūmugūval*.

¹⁷ Cf. *taṭṭādrīkēti viḷiyūtā Brahmasūpād varapārāh*
mīnabhāvam anuprāptā bahhūva Yamunācarī
śyenapādaparibhrāṣaṁ tad vīryam aṭha vāsavam
jagrāha tarasopetya sādrikā matyavarūpīṭ.

Mbh. 1.57.47 and 48.

¹⁸ *aprapṭavati tasmimś ca yauvanam bhārataraṣabha*
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svargate Śantanau Bhīṣmas Citrāṅgadam arinḷamam
sthūpāyāmāsa vai rājye Satyavatyā mate śhīlaj.

Mbh. 1.95.4 and 5.

According to the Bālabhārata version, Citrāṅgada was killed in a battle although in Bhīṣma's absence.

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gandharvavaryeṇa raṇe nijaghne.*

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tenāsya sumahad yuddham kurukṣetre babhūva ha
tayoḥ balavatoḥ tatra gandharvakuṣumukhyayoḥ
nadyāstīre hiraṇvatyāḥ samāś tistro' bhavad ranah
tasmin vimarḍe tumule śastravṛṣṭisamākule
māyādhikō' vadhīd vīram gandharvāḥ krusattatam*

1.95.6-9.Mbh. ¹⁹

Apparently in stanza 116 of the Tamil work we meet with an elaboration of the idea contained in 'vicitravīryastu tadā bhīṣmasya vacante sthitaḥ anvaśāsanmahārāja pitṛpaitāmaham padam' 1.95.13 Mbh. In the Tamil work we are told that Vicitravīrya in the matter of ruling the kingdom was following all the injunctions of Bhīṣma and this state of affairs appeared like the process by which (=jīvātman) rises before the Paramātman. We do not meet with this expressive simile in the Mahābhārata.

*Cf. sa dharmasāstrakūśalo Bhīṣmam śāntanavam nṛpaḥ
pūjyāmāsa dharmena sa cainam pratyapālayat*

1.95.14 Mbh.

¹⁹ After 7 cd, D₄ (marg.) S imert:

*toam vai sadṛśanāmāsi yuddham dehi nṛpātmaja
nūma vāryat pragṛhṣṭva yadi yuddham na dāsyasi
tvayāham yuddham icchāmi toutsakāśāt tu nūmataḥ
āgato'smi vṛthābhāṣyo na gocchen nāmato mayā
ityuktvā garjanānu tau hiraṇyāśramasṛitau*

In the Tamil work we are told that Bhīṣma went with his brother²⁰ to the svayamvara of the daughters of the king of Kāśī. Neither in the Mahābhārata nor in the Bālabhārata do we read that Bhīṣma went to the svayamvara accompanied by his brother Vicitravīrya.

*tatas sa rathinām śreṣṭho rathenaikena varmahṛt
jagāmanumate mātuh purīm vārāṇasīm prati.*

1.96.4.Mbh.

In stanza 121 of the Tamil work we are told that all the rest of the kings assembled in the svayamvara despaired, wondering what the intention of Bhīṣma was in having come to the svayamvara when his vow not to marry was well-known to the whole world. Here is an apparent contradiction, for had his brother Vicitravīrya accompanied him as stated in stanzas 118 and 120, would the other kings have any cause for wonder why Bhīṣma came, much less a suspicion in their minds that he was breaking his vow not to marry although he was pretty old?²¹ This can however be compared with the statement made in the Southern version of the Mahābhārata that the other princes mocked at Bhīṣma for seeming to have broken his life-long celibacy.

*vrddhah paramadharmātma valīpalitadhāraṇah
kīṁkāraṇam ihāyāto nirlajjo bharataṣabhaḥ
mithyāpratijño lōkeṣu kim vadīsyati bhārata
brahmacārīti Bhīṣmo hi vrthaiva prathito bhuvi
ity evam prabravantas te hasanti sma nṛpādhamāḥ²²*

In stanza 123 of the Tamil work we read that the daughters of the King of Kāśī at the svayamvara withdrew from Bhīṣma as they sighted him in the assembly, with the thought in their minds as to how they could marry

20 *tanṇilaṅṇēṇṇōṭum* stanza 118, line 3, Kurukulesaiga.
veṇṇēṇṇācanaṇṇi,anun tamṇiyum stanza 120, line 3.
ṇṇāṇṇiyēṇṇaṇṇiṇṇaṇṇalōṇṇiṇṇān stanza 124, line 4.
Śāntaṇṇuppayartlār muṭṭimāṇṇaṇṇ
mainṭar taṇṇaṇṇaṇṇaṇṇakormāṇṇṇār stanza 126, lines 3 and 4.

21 *viruttanṇ vantarān*.....stanza 121, line 3.

22 Mbh. 998.4.8. The first three lines as well as the last one are omitted here as they are not relevant to the point. "This passage though found in all Bombed, is not found in Dn. Ms. even :"

such an old man as Bhīṣma. This is in consonance with what we meet with both in Bālabhārata and the southern version of the Mahābhārata :—

ātmanam ālokyā jarāsametam anyatra yānūh (Bālabhārata)
ekākṣinam tadā Bhīṣmam vṛddham śāntanunandanam
sodvegā iva tam dr̥ṣtvā kanyāḥ paramasobhanāḥ
apākṛānta tāḥ sarvā vṛddha ityeva cintayā

No. 998*. Notes lines 1 to 3 (p. 436).

Ambā wanted to marry Bhīṣma after she was refused by Sālva who said that he would not accept her on the score that she was captured by his enemy, Bhīṣma. She was naturally refused by Bhīṣma as well, whereupon she went to her own father (stanzas 129 and 130 of the Tamil work). In the Bālabhārata we are simply told that Ambā went to the forest, her mind fixed on penance after she was refused by Bhīṣma. The story of her becoming Śikhandī is not found there. The story of Ambā is found related in the southern version of the Mahābhārata in the Ādiparvan itself. But it is mentioned only in the Udyoga parvan in the Critical edition. We have no reference in the former to Ambā having become śikhandī through penance. According to this version god Anantasena Kumara, gave a garland to Ambā, saying that the person wearing it would kill Bhīṣma. The garland was offered to various kings who all refused to accept it for fear of Bhīṣma. Eventually it was offered to king Somaka, the Pāncāla king. But as he too refused to accept, the garland was left in his palace by Ambā. While it was lying in the palace Śikhandī the king's daughter took it and wore it.²³ In the narrative of the Udyoga-parvan (Critical edition) we are however told by implication (not explicitly though) that Ambā transformed herself into Śikhandī through penance.

tām uvāca Mahādevaḥ kanyām kīla vṛṣadhvajāḥ
na me vāg anṛtam bhadre prāha satyam bhaviṣyasi
vadhiṣyasi raṇe Bhīṣmam puruṣatvam ca lapsyase
smariṣyasi ca tat sarvam deham anyam gatā sati
Drupadasya kule jātā bhaviṣyasi mahāvathahā
śighrāstrāś citrayodhī ca bhaviṣyasi susammataḥ

Mbh. 5-188.11-13.²⁴

²³ Appendix I, No. 55.

²⁴ Cf. *katham Śikhandī Gāṅgeya karuṇā bhūtvā sati tadā*
puruṣo' bhavad yudhī śreṣṭha tan me brūhi pītāmaha.
 Mbh. 5.189.1.

and *yathoktam eva kalyāṇi sarvaṇi etat bhaviṣyati*
bhaviṣyasi punaḥ pascāt kṣmāc cilkalaparyayaḥ.
 Mbh. 5.188.14.

Learning everything, Ambā's father sent messengers to Bhīṣma beseeching him to marry her (stanzas 131 and 132 of the Tamil work). But Bhīṣma refused and thereupon Ambā's father advised her to seek the aid of Paraśurāma in this matter. Ambā followed this advice accordingly; both Paraśurāma and Ambā approached Bhīṣma again, Paraśurāma persuading him to marry her. Bhīṣma preferred a fight with his own guru rather than breaking up his vow. Eventually Paraśurāma was conquered in the open fight and Ambā went to a penance-grove and made penance in order to become a mighty warrior so as to possess strength to conquer the great Bhīṣma. As a result of this mighty penance she became Sikhaṇḍinī (stanzas 133 to 146 of the Tamil work). In the Bālabhārata all this story such as Bhīṣma fighting with Paraśurāma is not found. In the Mahābhārata, the whole story of the fight of Bhīṣma with Paraśurāma is narrated only in the Udyogaparvan in 12 adhyāyas 5.176-188. But here there is a slight divergence. It is not the father of Ambā who advises her to seek Paraśurāma's aid, but it is her grandfather who tenders her this advice²⁵.

2. *Sambhava Saṅga*

After Vicitravīrya's death, Bhīṣma was persuaded by Satyawatī to practise what is called *niyoga*²⁶ with Vicitravīrya's wives. He replies with a lacerated heart that if he were to decide to be born again in the womb of the famous Gaṅgā only then might his vow of celibacy be broken (stanza 4 of Sambhavasarga). In the Bālabhārata we are told that Bhīṣma

²⁵ *Ambāyās tāni kṛtāṁ śrutvā kāsūṛyās ca bhārata*
 sa vepamāna utthāya mātāṁ asyāḥ pītā tadā

 abrahmā vepamānas ca kanyāṁ ārtāṁ sudahhṛitāḥ

 gacchu madvacanād Rāman jamaḍaṅyam lapasvīnam
 Rāmas tava mahadāhikham śokam cūpanayasyati.

Mbh. 5.174 17-22.

²⁶ The actual word used in the Tamil work is *devanāṇi* which is obviously the *devananyāya* referred to in the Mahābhārata.

Kuṇṭī sampreṣayāmāsa devananyāyadharmataḥ,

Mbh 1 1274*.1.

replied in this context that Gaṅgā's son would give up his vow only if fire were to give up heat. This is in consonance with the reply of Bhīṣma in the Mahābhārata. Compared to this forcible reply of Bhīṣma, the one given in the Tamil work is a mild one and it is clear that the author deviates from the Mahābhārata and from the Bālabhārata as well.

*tyajec ca pṛthivī gandham āpaś ca rasam ātmanah
jyotis tathā tyajed rūpam vāyuh sparsaḥ gunam tyajet
prabhāṃ samutsrjed arko dhūmaketus tathoṣṇalāṃ
tyajec chabdāṃ tathākāśaḥ somaḥ śītaśūtaṃ tyajet
vikṛamam vṛtrahā jahyād dharmam jahyāc ca Dharmarāḥ
natv aham satyam utsraṣṭum vyavaseyam kathāncana.*

Mbh. 1.97. 16-18.

Satyavati invokes Vyāsa : he appears, cleansing the feet of Satyavati of the dust with sacred ashes on his forehead (stanza 10 of the Tamil work). This can be compared with the following lines in the Bālabhārata :

*prañāmalagnena lalāṭabhasmanā
bhrśam pavitrīkr̥tapādapañkajā.*

But in the Mahābhārata we meet with a more simple statement.

*sa vedān vibruvan dhūmān mātur vijñāya cintitam
prādurbabhūvāvidītaḥ kṣaṇena kuruṇandana*

Mbh. 1.99.22

In the commentary on the 12th verse commenting on the lines

*puṇṇamaṇa nīzaintoli kuzaintolkap
puṇṇaiyum jeyyoṭum.....*

“(Vyāsa) with the (bad) smell of grass and a body without lustre and emaciated.....”, the commentator draws attention to the epithet *ahṛdyagandham* in the Bālabhārata. It must be noted here that the readings of the southern manuscripts of the Mahābhārata are more in agreement with the Tamil work, and therefore here is a clear instance where the author of the Tamil work has followed more the original Mahābhārata

(of course the southern versions) than the Bālabhārata. D₄ (marg.) C₆ M₃.5 continue. T G 1.5, M 6.5) (om. lines 3-4) insert after 5 :

*taṁ samīkṣya tu Kausalyā duṣprekṣyam atathocitā
virūpaṁ iti vitraṣṭā saṁkucyāsīn nimīlītā
virūpo hi jaṭi cāpi durvarṇaḥ paruṣaḥ kṛṣaḥ
sugandhetaragandhaś ca sarvathā duṣpradarṣaṇaḥ*

Critical notes on Mbh 1.100.4.

In stanza 14 the author of the Tamil work clearly follows the Bālabhārata²⁷ when he makes Satyawatī say to Vyāsa " let Ambālikā get a child who will be like the sun, husband of lotus with long stem and like the moon too, ruling over the beautiful earth under his canopy."

In regard to the statement that Ambālikā became pale with fear and shyness and filled with sorrow, which we meet with in the 15th stanza of the Tamil work, apparently there is no disagreement between the Bālabhārata and the Mahābhārata.

*vilokya sā cainam uvāha lajjitā
vipāṇḍuratvam pura eva dauhṛdāt (Bālabhārata)
Ambālikāṁ athābhūgāt rṣim dṛṣtvā ca sāpi taṁ
vīṣaṇṇā pāṇḍusaṁkṣā samapadyata bhārata.*

Mbh. 1.100.15.

Again Satyawatī invoked Vyāsa and seeing him with fear Ambikā made her friend and maid who was charmingly adorned with ornaments enjoy him²⁸. This is also in agreement both with the Bālabhārata and the Mahābhārata .

*vidagdhanaiṣaṁsatyaṁ tadantīkām yayau (Bālabhārata).
tataḥ svair bhūṣaṇair dāśīm bhūṣayitvāpsaropamāṁ
~ ~ ~ ~ ~ māsa Kṛṣṇāya tataḥ kṣāṣipateḥ suṭā.*

Mbh. 1.100.23

²⁷ *kunāram utpādya tatra tādṛśam
vijesyate bhūvalayam bhujena yathā (Bālabhārata)*

Contrast these lines with the following in the Mbh.

*jñātīvamsīṣya goptāram pitṛyām vamsīṣyavardhanam
dviṣṭyam kuruṣvamsīṣya vāṣānam dātum arhaḥ*

Mbh. 1.100.12.

²⁸ *pāṇḍalamparato limarorattiyatpūṣavayayavattitāl
stanza 18, Sambhava-sarga, line 4.*

In a similar manner the Tamil work ²⁹ follows both the *Bālabhārata*³⁰ and the *Mahābhārata*,³¹ in stating that the servant-woman captured the sage's heart and he being thus charmed enjoyed her.

But in stanza 20 we meet once again with another significant departure both from the *Bālabhārata* and from the *Mahābhārata*. According to the Tamil work, Vyāsa comes to Satyavatī and tells her that the servant-maid on account of her previous penance and on account of the boons she had obtained from the gods, was blessed to be the mother of Dharma, who will be called Vidura, proficient in fierce battle. In the *Bālabhārata* we are merely told that Yama who was a victim of a curse from the sage *Ānimāṇḍavya*³² would be born as Vidura to the servant-maid. (This was what Vyāsa told Satyavatī). In the *Mahābhārata*, Vyāsa merely informs Satyavatī of the conception by the servant-maid and disappears.³³ It is Vaiśampāyana who in his narration to Janamejaya, alludes to the curse by *Ānimāṇḍavya* in detail

sa jajñe Viduro nāma.....
dharma Vidurarūpeṇa śāpāt tasya mahātmanah
Māṇḍavyasya.....

Mbh. 1.100.27-28

and
śūdrayonāu ato Dharma mānuṣaḥ sambhaviṣyasi

Mbh. 1.101.25 c d.

²⁹ Stanza 19, *Sambhavasarga*.

³⁰ "As the deer is charmed by music so was the great sage who had conquered the five senses charmed by the servant-maid." *Bālabhārata*.

³¹ *kāmopabhoga tu saḥ tasyām tuṣṭim agād rsiḥ*
layā sahoṣṭilo rātriṃ maharṣiḥ prīyamāṇayā

Mbh. 1.100.25.

³² D₄u₃, S (except C₆ M₅) and D₄ have *Ānimāṇḍavya*, while other manuscripts have different names for the sage as given hereunder :—*Ānimāṇḍavya*, *Ānimāṇḍavya*, *Ānimāṇḍavya* and *Śrīmāṇḍavya*. (See notes on 1.101.24-25).

³³ *sa dharmayānṛgo bhūtoṣṭa punarmātrū sāmetya ca*
tasyai garbham samāvedya tatratvāntaradhīyata.

Mbh. 1.100.29.

According to the Tamil work ³⁴ Dhrtarāṣṭra was coronated as the king and Pāṇḍu as Senāpati. By *argumentum ex silentio* we might say here that Dhrtarāṣṭra was ruling as the king according to Villiputtūrār. What we are told in the southern versions of the Mahābhārata is that though Dhrtarāṣṭra was crowned as king, Pāṇḍu was the actual ruler.

Bhīṣma rōjā kauravyo Dhrtarāṣṭronhiṣecitaḥ

.....

*Dhrtarāṣṭras to acakṣus!vād rājyam na pratyapadyata
avaratoāc ca Viduroḥ Pāṇḍus cāśin mahipatiḥ*

Lines 2-8, No. 1106,* Critical notes on 1.102.15

Prthā served the sage Duvāsas for twelve months with a single-minded devotion giving up all her youthful pleasures.³⁵ Whatever the sages asked her to do, no matter how difficult the tasks were, she carried out till his commands.

.....Yātiyāturai ceytāu (stanza 28, line 2)

.....eṇatēva

lariteṇātu nūyogatrūtai.....

stanza 29 lines 1 and 2.

Cf. *saḥ yadyad ājñāpayati sma duṣkaram* (Bālabhāratam)
and *dadhyājyākādibhir nityam vyañjanaiḥ pratyaham śubhā
sahasrasaṅkhyair yogīndram samupācarad uttamā*

Mbh. 1.1114*, 1-2.

Prthā invoked Sūrya, but when he came she asked him not to touch her. Sūrya got angry and vehemently asked her why in that case she had invoked him and what might not they suffer who had taught her the mantra of invocation.³⁶

Cf. *karomī yāvat tava mantradāyinaṁ
madīyaśāporagaveṣitam munim* (Bālabhāratam).
and *yady evaṁ manyase bhīru kim āhvayasi Bhāṣkaram
yadi mām avajānāsi ṛṣiḥ sa na bhaviṣyati
mantradānena yasya tvam avalepena darpiṭā*

³⁴ Stanza 22, Sambhavasarga.

³⁵ Stanzas 27, 28, 29 and 30, Sambhavasarga.

³⁶ Stanzas, 31-34, Sambhavasarga.

Lines 12-14, Appendix I, No. 59, Critical Edition of Mhb.

Sūrya further says that she need not fear the wrath of her parents³⁷ implying thereby that she would become a virgin again after yielding to him.

Cf. *kanyaḥābhāvam inam ca (na) hāsyasi* (Bālabhāratam).
and *vyapayātu bhayam te'dya kumāram prasamīkṣyase*
mayā tvam cāpyanujñātā pumaḥ kanyā bhaviṣyasi

Lines 18 and 19, Appendix I, No. 59, Mhb.

Kuntī then yielded to Sūrya and becoming beautiful like deluge-flames brought forth a boy³⁸ who was matchless and who could give such gifts that even gods like Indra might beg of him, just as the ocean brought forth Cintāmaṇi

Cf. *anupraveśād ayan ātmatejasah*
śikhām ivāgner adhikojjvalakṛtim
.....
athepsitārthapratipādanārhalām
upeyivāmsam surabhartur arthinah
asūta cintāmaṇim ūḍhatejasam
samudraveleva nṛpātmaṇā sutam (Bālabhāratam³⁹)

Now Prthā again attaining to her former virginhood seeing her child who was worthy of her love with *kavaca-kundala* embedded with gems, fearing the scandal from persons born of high clan, put him in a box, and closing it, sent it to a full river (stanza 39). In the Bālabharata we are told that she had let it in the floods of the Ganges. In the Tamil

³⁷ Stanza 35, line 1, Sambhavasarga.

³⁸ Stanzas 36 to 38, Sambhavasarga.

³⁹ Strictly speaking there are no corresponding verses in the Māhabhārata.

affanai talo vīram sarvasastrabhīṣṭam varam
ānukūlakavacah śrīmān devagurubrah śrīgā vīrah
sahajam kavacam bibhrat kuṇḍalodiyotīṣṇanaḥ
vijayata sutah Karṇaḥ sarvalokēṣu vīratub.

work the name of the river is not mentioned. This is in perfect agreement with the statement made in the Ādiparvan of Mahābhārata

Cf *surasravantyām apavādaśaṅkitā*
saṅgūbhīr āptābhīr asāv amocayat (Bālabhārata)
 and *gūhamānāpacāram tam bandhupakṣabhayāt tadā*
utsasarja jale Kuntī tam kumāram salakṣaṇam

Mbh. 1.104.13.⁴⁰

In the regular *svayamvara* Kuntī chooses Pāṇḍu (stanzas 44 and 45, Sambhavasarga); the king of Madra too of his own accord gave his daughter to Pāṇḍu and he married her. In the Bālabhārata we are told that Bhīṣma through his prowess in archery, captured Mādri and married her to Pāṇḍu. In the Mahābhārata it is said that Bhīṣma went and requested Mādri's father to give her in marriage to Pāṇḍu and the king of Madra consented.

Cf *yātō Devauratenāpi madrāṇām puṭabhedanam*
viśrutā triṣu lokeṣu Mādri madrapates sūtā

Pāṇḍorathe parikṛitā dhanena mahatā tadā
viivāham kṛayāmāsa Bhīṣmaḥ pāṇḍor mahātmanah

Mbh. 1.105.4, 5.

When Pāṇḍu was cursed by Kindama, he straightway went to the forest to make penance⁴¹. According to the Mahābhārata however

⁴⁰ However, in the Āraṇyakaparvan, in the sub-parvan Kuṇḍalāharaparvan, we are told that the box in which Karpas was placed was first placed in the Aśvanadī which took it to the Carmanvatī from which it travelled to the Yamunā and lastly it reached the Ganges.

evam bahavidham rājau vilapya karuṇam Pṛthā
avāsṛjata māṇṣūṣam āśvanadyās tadā jale

māṇṣuṣa tv āśvanadyās sa yagau Carmanvatīm nodīm
Carmanvatyāsca Yamunām tato Gaṅgām jagāma ha.

Mbh. 3.292. 22-25.

⁴¹ Stanza 52, Sambhavasarga.

he wanted to leave his wives and make penance, but being persuaded by them he took them also

Cf. *tasmād ekoḥam ekāham ekaiḥasmīn vanaspathau
caran bhaiḥṣam munir mṇḍaś carisyāmi mahimimām*
Mbh. 1.110.7.

and 8 — *artham kāmam sukhaṁ caiva ratim ca paramātmikām
pratāsthe sarvaṁ utstjya sabhāyāḥ kuruṇvāgavaḥ*

Mbh. 1.110.38.

Vyāsa collected the fragments of the foetus that fell out of the womb of Gāndhārī and grouped them into a hundred and the remaining he put into a jar wishing that it should become a beautiful girl (stanza 72, Sambhavasarga). Possibly here the author of the Tamil work attempts to follow the southern version of the Māhābhārata faithfully. But his work being only an epitome, he omits such details as Gāndhārī telling Vyāsa with regret that she had no daughter.

*yadi nāma mamāpi syād duhitaiḥ śatādhikā
kṛtāḥ bhavēyam vai putradauhitrasaṁvṛtā*

Appendix I. No. 63, lines 24, 25. Mbh.

In the Tamil work⁴² we are not told that Pāṇḍu was at first prevented by Mādri from approaching her, as he remembered the curse. On the contrary she too easily succumbed to his overtures.⁴³ In the Bālābhārata as in the Māhābhārata we are told that Mādri did not so easily yield to him at the first instance, but on the other hand dissuaded him and that Pāṇḍu forcibly enjoyed her with the disastrous consequence that followed. Here is therefore another clear instance where the Tamil work departs both from the Bālābhārata as well as from the Māhābhārata.

*tata enām balād rājā nijagrāha rahogatām
vāryamāṇas tayā devyā visphurantiyā yathā balam
sa tu kāmāparitātmā tam śāpam nānvabudhyata
Mādrim matihunadharmaṇa gacchamāno balād iva*

Mbh. 1.116.8-9.

⁴² Stanzas 95-102, Sambhavasarga.

⁴³ Stanza 96, Sambhavasarga.

.....

.....

*kāviyaḥkannikēḥvaṇkamaloaracīmārpitaṇḍapō
śōṇḍamāṇavēyullaṇḍarukinālayarṇṇu vilṇṇāḥ*

In the Mahābhārata we are told that Mādri dissuaded Kuntī from entering the funeral pyre and showed the logic of her position that she alone should enter the fire for it was through enjoying her Pāṇḍu died.

*mām cā'bhigamyā kṣīṇo'yam kāmād bharatasattamaḥ
tam ucchindyāmasya kāmam kathan nu yamasādane*

Mbh. 1.116.26.

The Bālabharāta version is that because on account of her own fault Pāṇḍu died Mādri requested Kuntī to allow her to enter the funeral pyre. But in the Tamil work we meet merely with the simple statement that Mādri enters the funeral pyre only unable to bear separation from her husband.

mulukinalanarpunaliomoympanaiviṭṭātāl

Stanza 105, line 4, Sambhavasarga.

After Mādri's death, Kuntī performed all the funeral rites of her dead husband through her sons and she went to Hastināpurī through the desire of sages like Kāśyapa who were dwelling on the Śataśrīṅga mountains (stanzas 106 and 107, Sambhavasarga). In the Mahābhārata however we are told that the *avabhr̥tha* was performed for Pāṇḍu and the sages took Kuntī and her sons to Nāgasa in order to hand over Pāṇḍu's children to Bhīṣma and Vidura.

*Pāṇḍor avabhr̥tham kṛtvā devakalpā maharṣayaḥ
Pāṇḍoḥ putrān puṭaskṛtya nagaram nāgasāhuvayam
..... gamane cakṛire manaḥ*

Mbh. 1.117.1-5ab.

After 4ab T G inserts :

*Dharmam caiva puṭaskṛtya s'reṣṭhām matim akurvata
kuruṣetram itaḥ Kuntīm tām saputrām nayāmahe*

Critical notes on Mbh. 1.117.4.

According to the version in the Mahābhārata possibly only *dakṣasamēkārā* was performed in the Śataśrīṅga mountain for it is clearly

stated that Mādri entered the funeral pyre. The other *uttara kriyā* was performed by Dhrtarāṣṭra and others in Vāraṇa.

*ityuktvā tam citāgnistham Dharmapatnī naraśabham
madrarājātmajā tūrṇam anwārohad yaśasvinī*

1.116.31 Mbh.

kāmabhagān parityajya śataś ṛṅgam ito gataḥ

.....

pitṛlokaṁ gataḥ Pāṇḍur itaḥ saptaśāhāni

1.117.20 cd—27. Mbh.

tataḥ kṣattā ca rājā ca Bhīmaśca saha bandhubhiḥ

daduḥ śrāddham tadā Pāṇḍoḥ svadhāmṛtamayam tadā

.....

ādāya vivīś uḥ pauraḥ pṛtam vāraṇasāhvayam

1.119.1-3 Mbh.

3. *Vāraṇāvata Sarga.*

During the course of a play with Duryodhana Bhīma recognises a treachery of his cousin. He sees bees on the waters of the Ganges and recognises the spearheads placed in the river on whose tops alone the bees were seated. So Bhīma jumps where the spears were not installed and escapes.⁴⁴ This story is not found either in the Bālābhārata or in the Mahābhārata. But the other story of Bhīma being bound by a rope of weeds when he was out of his senses on account of poison, and thrown into the Ganges⁴⁵ is found in all the three works. But in the Tamil work we are told that he went to the nether world where he was bitten by serpents and their poison nullified the effects of the poison administered to him previously.⁴⁶ In the Bālābhārata what we are told is that Bhīma reached the nether world unaffected by the spears through the kindness of fate. Similar is the version in the Mahābhārata.⁴⁷ The Tamil work departs from the two in that in this context no reference is made to the spears.

⁴⁴ Stanza 10, Vāraṇāvatasarga.

⁴⁵ Stanza 12, Vāraṇāvatasarga.

⁴⁶ Stanzas 13, 14, Vāraṇāvatasarga.

⁴⁷ Appendix I, No. 73, Critical edition of Mbh.

Vāsuki gives Bhīma nectar from out of ten golden vessels.⁴⁸ In the Mahābhārata we are told similarly that Vāsuki gave Bhīma juice which could give him the strength of thousand elephants.⁴⁹ But in the Mahābhārata it is stated the Vāsuki did so because of the words of the maternal grandfather of Vāsuki and Pṛthā. In the Tamil work this is not mentioned.⁵⁰ We are merely told that Vāsuki recognised Bhīma as Vāyu's son.

Cf. *āryakeṇa ca dṛṣṭas san Pṛthāyāś cāryakeṇa tu*
rasam pibet kumāro'yaṁ tvaṃ pṛite mahābalaḥ
 Lines 69-76, Appendix I, No. 73, Mbh.

When Bhīma was thus missed all the other four brothers searched for him in forests, in rivers and ponds. It is remarkable that this order of places is the same in the Mahābhārata, the Bālabhārata as well as the Tamil work.

udyānāni vicitrāṇi nadīni ca sarāṃsi ca

Appendix I, No. 73, Critical notes on line 100, Mbh.

kānaneṣu sarasiṣu sindhuṣu (Bālabhārata).

.....

.....*kānatyōtaiyenkaṇun*

ṛṣiṇar

stanza 20, Vāraṇāvatasaṃgā.

Discussing the birth of Droṇa, the Tamil work⁵¹ gives Menakā as the name of the woman whom Bharadvāja loved, while according to the Mahābhārata⁵² it is Chṛtācī. Again according to the Tamil work⁵³ Bhīṣma sent a message to Droṇa and accordingly he came to Hastināpurī. But the Bālabhārata as well as the Mahābhārata say that only Bhīṣma desired to invite Droṇa while the latter himself reached Hastināpurī. Droṇa came with his wife and child. It is to be remarked here that we

⁴⁸ Stanza 15, Vāraṇāvatasaṃgā.

⁴⁹ Lines 80-83, Appendix I, No. 73, Mbh.

⁵⁰ Stanza 15, Vāraṇāvatasaṃgā.

⁵¹ Stanza 32, Vāraṇāvatasaṃgā.

⁵² 1.121.3. Critical edition of Mbh.

⁵³ Stanza 34, Vāraṇāvatasaṃgā.

meet with the expression 'kaiyinmatalai'⁵⁴ in the Tamil work in this context. This expression has to be ordinarily rendered into 'a child-in-arms', that is, a child who is only a few months old, usually a suckling child. While narrating Drupada's story to Bhīṣma Droṇa mentions that up to his fifth year, his child could not enjoy the ordinary pleasures of childhood owing to his extreme poverty.⁵⁵ Again when Bhīṣma and Duryodhana entered into gadāyuddha, by their demeanour knowing the workings of their inner minds Aśvathāma (their guru's son) using his might prevented them.⁵⁶ The epithet used for Aśvatthāman here is significant—*meṅkalavikaraiṇṇaperiyōn* the great one who was well versed in true learning. This shows that when Drona came to Hastināpurī Aśvatthāman was considerably old and therefore the expression *kaiyīmatalai* could at best be rendered into only a 'boy'. Perhaps this expression was used to denote only affection as we are wont to see parents endearingly calling even their very much grown-up sons 'children'. In the Mahābhārata of course we are told by implication that Aśvathāma was fairly grown up.

Aśvatthāmānam āhūya Droṇo vacanam abravīt

.....

ityuktvā tu tadā pārthah pādau jagrāha pāṇḍavah

Mbh. 1.1381*, 1-6.

Bhīṣma tells Droṇa that he will be at the head of their entire kingdom, being one of them.⁵⁷ This is in consonance with the Mahābhārata version.

*kurūṇām asti yad vittaṁ rājyaṁ cedam sarāṣṭrakam
tvam eva paramo rājā sarve ca kuruvas tava*

1.1377, 6-7.

In the Tamil work, we are told merely that a ring fell down in a deep well and Droṇa commanded all his disciples to take it out. Every one of them failed except Arjuna who by constructing a chain of arrows pulled out the ring. Then Droṇa commanded his disciples to shoot up arrows

⁵⁴ Stanza, Vāraṇāvatasaṅga.

⁵⁵ Stanza 42, Vāraṇāvatasaṅga.

⁵⁶ Stanza 59, Vāraṇāvatasaṅga.

⁵⁷ Stanza 47, Vāraṇāvatasaṅga.

in such a manner as to pierce all the leaves of a banyan tree. Here too all failed except Arjuna.⁵⁸ In the *Bālabhārata*, all these anecdotes are not found. But in the *Mahābhārata* what we are told is that Droṇa fell out with his former friend, Drupada and lived in disguise in Hastināpuri. Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas who were playing let drop a ring and a ball. They could not extricate these. Droṇa who was near by, on account of his marvellous skill in archery pulled these toy things out of the well. Both the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas were struck with wonder at this and fell at his feet and they informed all that had happened to Bhīṣma who thereupon entrusted them to Droṇa's care and thus he became their teacher. After the training was over Droṇa placed a bird called *bhāsa* on a tree and asked his disciples successively to aim at this. They were asked one by one as to what they saw before them. Every one of them invariably told their guru that they saw the tree as well as their own teacher in addition to the bird. They were disgraced and Arjuna alone who told Droṇa that he saw only the head of the bird was commanded to shoot which he did with success. It is clear that here the Tamil work entirely departs from both the *Bālabhārata* and the *Mahābhārata* for here both the incidents are put together and narrated as having happened long after Droṇa became the teacher of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas.⁵⁹

According to the Tamil work Upayāja and Yāja both officiate and perform a rite in consonance with Vedic injunctions for the progeny of Drupada.⁶⁰ Upayāja performing the sacrifice gave the *havis* (oblation) to Drupada's wife; after she became such as not to touch (*tīrtāl āḷiya piṇ* stanza 86, line 3, *Vāraṇāvatasaṅga*), Upayāja threw the oblation in the fire and in a moment made the son appear. The straight-forward interpretation of the line *tīrtāl āḷiya piṇ* would be only 'after she became an untouchable'. (Possibly according to the author of this work she was in her menstrual period and therefore only she could not take the oblation). It seems to us straining too much to interpret the line, 'as her not touching the oblation on account of her pride'. Such an interpretation does not seem warranted. The commentator says that such an interpretation is given in consonance with what is found in the

⁵⁸ Stanza 51, *Vāraṇāvatasaṅga*.

⁵⁹ 1.122.10-40. Additional lines, No. 1365 and 1.123.45-66.

⁶⁰ Stanza 85, *Vāraṇāvatasaṅga*. Incidentally it might be remarked that according to the *Mbh.* *Yājñas* was at the head and *Upayāja* was the *purohita*.

Bālabhārata and in the Mahābhārata as well. But here is a Gordian knot. In the critical edition of the Ādiparvan there is no reference, in this particular context, to this story of Yāja and Upayāja performing a sacrifice for the sake of a son and a daughter to be born to Drupada with a view to kill Droṇa and to marry Arjuna respectively. Thus the Gordian knot is cut by the critical edition of the Parvan in the context which omits the whole episode connected with the sacrificial performance of Yāja and Upayāja on behalf of Drupada.⁶¹

⁶¹ This story of Yāja and Upayāja performing a sacrifice for the benefit of Drupada is however met with in another context in the critical edition (I.155), which agrees substantially with the narration of the episode in Appendix I, No. 79. When Yāja calls upon the queen to come forth and greet the mīthuno (a pair) the birth of which is imminent then Pṛṣati's reply is as follows :—

My face is unsmeared and I exude holy odours (Appendix I, No. 79, line 100).

The next line which completes Pṛṣati's reply can be construed only in the following way if it is to yield any satisfactory sense :

(I) I am not your wife ; for the sake of progeny, however, do what is in my interest.

Here we do not know what to make of the words *mama priye* which by no means can be construed so as to go well with the doubtful character of the response. It is the word *pratyākhyāte* in line 117 in the same section that gives some support to the view that Pṛṣati's response is not exactly a favourable one. On the other hand since her response, if at all unfavourable, does not upset the ritual and since there is a stereotyped repetition as it were of her response in the description of the second part of the ritual which is a replica of the first part, it is also possible to suppose that the *pratyākhyāna* or rejection was a sort of mock-ceremonial, which is not unusual in the Vedic ritual or this word may be understood in the primary sense of 'response' and not 'rejection'.

On the whole this section in the Appendix and particularly the verse translated in part above as well as the corresponding section and verse in the critical edition leave much to be desired so far as syntax goes.

We owe to Prof. APTE the interpretation of this hopelessly difficult passage in Appendix I, No. 79.

It is therefore clear that the attempt of the Commentator of the Tamil work to interpret the line 'tṛṣṭālākṣya pin' as he does believing it to be in consonance with the supposed version of the Mahābhārata does not bear any stamp of justification whatsoever.

I.155.35 *a* and *c* read slightly different from the first halves of both the lines 100 and 101, Appendix I, No. 79. But these do not affect our remarks regarding the Tamil commentary in any way.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra failed in his attempt to make Duryodhana feel the justice of Yudhiṣṭhira being installed as prince.⁶² On the contrary Dhṛtarāṣṭra's mind itself undergoes a change and he tells Bhīṣma and Vidura of the enmity in the heart of Duryodhana against the Pāṇḍavas. He suggests that the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas must be separated.⁶³ Both Bhīṣma and Vidura reply that as ever from childhood, the Kauravas were hating the Pāṇḍavas, the former who would not listen to any advice should have to be left to themselves.⁶⁴ Dhṛtarāṣṭra thereupon called the minister Purocana who could not maintain the balance of justice.⁶⁵ Duryodhana and Purocana as well as Dhṛtarāṣṭra⁶⁶ enter into a treacherous consultation and decide to invite the Pāṇḍavas to live in Vāraṇāvata and accordingly the place Vāraṇāvata was renovated.⁶⁷ Dhṛtarāṣṭra asked the Pāṇḍavas then to go Vāraṇāvata making Purocana their minister. All of them with Kuntī went to Vāraṇāvata and worshipped Śiva, the presiding deity of the place. The Pāṇḍavas were ruling there, but a suspicion arose in their minds about Purocana when they saw the lac-palace. One of those who were employed in building up this lac-palace came to Bhīma and apprised him of the entire treachery as well as a way of escape. Bhīma rewarded him and was on the alert.⁶⁸ The treacherous consultation with Purocana as well as an architect informing Bhīma of the whole treachery of the lac-palace are not met with in the Bālabhārata. Here the Tamil work is more in agreement with the Mahābhārata.⁶⁹

4. *Vetrakīya Sarga.*

After Ghaṭotkaca was born both Hidimbā and the boy take leave of the Pāṇḍus.⁷⁰ This is in agreement with the Mahābhārata version where

⁶² Stanzas 100-101, Vāraṇāvatasarga.

⁶³ Stanzas 103-105, Vāraṇāvatasarga.

⁶⁴ Stanza 106, Vāraṇāvatasarga.

⁶⁵ Stanza 107, Vāraṇāvatasarga.

⁶⁶ In the Mahābhārata Dhṛtarāṣṭra is not in the picture. See 1,132,1-2.

⁶⁷ Stanzas 108-111, Vāraṇāvatasarga.

⁶⁸ Stanzas 112-125, Vāraṇāvatasarga.

⁶⁹ 1.132-135. Critical edition of Mhb.

⁷⁰ Stanza 32, Vetrakīyasarga.

we are told that at the time of Bhīma's marriage with Hidimbā it was agreed that she should leave him after the birth of a son, which agreement she kept up.

gāvatkālēno bhavati putrosyotpādanom śubhe

tāvatkālām gamiṣyāmi tvoyā soha sumodhyome.

1'1561^{*}, 2-3.

and *samvōsasamoyo jīrṇa ity abhōsato tam taitāh*

Hidimbō samoyom kṛtōā svām gatim pratyapadyota.

Mbh. 1'143'36.

Pāṇḍavas then in the disguise of Brahmins well versed in Vedic lore-reached Vetrakīya. In the Tamil work⁷¹ it is called a town (nagar) as it is in the Bālabhārata. But according to the Mahābhārata they reached the city called Ekacakra and only the place which they occupied in it was called Vetrakīya. The eminent Brahmins of that place vied with each other in welcoming the Pāṇḍavas.⁷²

vetrakīyagrhe rājā nōyam noyam ihāsthitoḥ

anūmayam janasyāsyā yena syād alyā śāsvatam

Mbh. 1'148'9.⁷¹

We meet with a departure in regard to a minor point in the Tamil work from both the Mahābhārata and the Bālabhārata version. According to the Tamil work, the asura Baka lived in a forest close to Vetrakīya,⁷⁴ while both according to the Bālabhārata and the Mahābhārata Baka lived on the banks of the Jumna.

ito gavyūtimātre'stī Yamunāgahvare guhā

toṣyām ghorah sa vasati jighāmsuḥ puruṣāḍaḥ

Boḷo nāma sa nāmnā vai duṣṭōtmō rōkṣasādhamah

Mbh. 1'1626^{*}, 1-3.

⁷¹ Stanza 33, Vetrakīyasarga.

⁷² Stanza 34, Vetrakīyasarga.

⁷³ We have the following variants for *grhe* Ś, K (except K₄) *graho*; N₃ *grho*; G 1.4.5 *pure*;
G3 has *viprakīyagrha* for *vētrakīyagrhe*.

⁷⁴ Stanza 39, Vetrakīyasarga.

5. *Draupadimālāyitṭa Sarga.*

The stanzas ⁷⁵ which describe nature which was indicative of the coming joy to the Pāṇḍavas, on their way to Draupadī's svayamvara have no parallel in the Bālabhārata as well as the Mahābhārata. In the svayamvara, after his speech, Dhṛṣṭadyumna himself showed all the princes that were assembled there to Draupadī according to both the Mahābhārata and the Bālabhārata. But according to the Tamil work it was the foster-mothers who did this. ⁷⁶

*tānevamukṭvā Drupadasya putrah
pāścādidam draupadīm abhyuvāca
nāmnā ca gotreṇa ca karmāṇā ca
sarṅkīrtayaṁs tām nṛpatīm sametām.*

Mbh. I.176.36.

In the Tamil work Śiśupāla is mentioned, ⁷⁷ before Jarāsandha ⁷⁸ and Bhagadatta. ⁷⁹ In the Bālabhārata Bhagadatta is mentioned before Śiśupāla. In the southern version of the Mahābhārata the same order as that found in the Bālabhārata is followed. ⁸⁰ In the Tamil work Nīla, a Pāṇḍyan king, as well as a Cola king and a Cera king are also mentioned. ⁸¹ All the Tamil kings are not mentioned in the Bālabhārata, although Nīla is mentioned there as Māhismatinātha. Of course in the Mahābhārata Nīla is mentioned as one of the celebrated kings. The southern version of the Mahābhārata makes mention of the Tamil kings although Nīla is not spoken of as the king of Pāṇḍya.

*pāṇḍyakeralacolendrās trayas tretāgnayo yathā
āsaneṣu virājante āśām āgastyam āśritāḥ
1.1816*.*

.....Nīlāś Citrāyudhas tathā

Mbh. I.177.10 b.

⁷⁵ Stanzas 11-21, Draupadimālāyitṭasarga.

⁷⁶ Stanza 34, Draupadimālāyitṭasarga.

⁷⁷ Stanza 42, Draupadimālāyitṭasarga.

⁷⁸ Stanza 43, Draupadimālāyitṭasarga.

⁷⁹ Stanza 44, Draupadimālāyitṭasarga.

⁸⁰ I.177.12 b; 1819*, line 3. The Critical edition omits Śiśupāla's name altogether here.

⁸¹ Stanza 45 45, Draupadimālāyitṭasarga.

When Karna strung up the bow, it struck his diadem-adorned head⁸² and he fell down. Karna merely succeeded in bending the bow to such an extent as to make the interval of space between the two extremities as short as a hair could pass through, according to the Bālabhārata also.

*cāpam mahāntam tapasasya sūnau
adhīyamātānavati romamūtre
sa tam vicikṣepa.....*(Bālabhārata).

In the Mahābhārata we are told however that just at the time when Karna was about to aim at the target, Draupadi cried aloud that she would not marry a charioteer's son. He thereupon threw the bow in sorrow and returned.⁸³

Arjuna conquered Karna in the ensuing fight and Bhīma too overpowered Śalya. Both the vanquished fled thereupon saying that it was inglorious to fight with the brahmins, no matter whether they won or lost.⁸⁴ In the Bālabhārata we are told that when fight ensued between the two pairs, Karna and Arjuna, Śalya and Bhīma, the other kings were mere spectators admiring their valour. Substantially there is agreement here between the Tamil work and the Mahābhārata version.

tad adbhutatamam dṛṣtvā sarve te dūrataḥ sthitāḥ

1.1864*, 2.

kṛiyatām avahāro' smād yuddhād brāhmaṇasamyutāt

Mbh. 1.181.31 ab.

The other kings began to suspect at this stage about the true identity of Bhīma and Arjuna who were in the disguise of Brahmins. These kings were prevented from fighting further by Kṛṣṇa and they turned back.⁸⁵ According to the Mahābhārata Arjuna and Bhīma vanquished Karna and Śalya and when the kings gathered together with a view to begin a fresh fight Kṛṣṇa prevented it.⁸⁶

The things that happened subsequent to Pāṇḍavas' reaching their temporary house were reported to Yāgasena by spies and rejoicing at this

⁸² Stanza 53, Draupadimāliyiṭṭasarga.

⁸³ 1.1827*, stanzas 1-3.

⁸⁴ Stanzas 61-62, Draupadimāliyiṭṭasarga.

⁸⁵ Stanza 63, Draupadimāliyiṭṭasarga.

⁸⁶ Mbh. 1.181.32, Appendix I, No. 99, lines 4-10 refer to Dharma conquering Duryodhana.

news all his doubts being dispelled, he came to where they were residing and took them all to his own palace.⁸⁷ According to the Mahābhārata version however, Dhṛṣṭadyumna himself followed the Pāṇḍavas unobserved and in hiding himself noted everything which he subsequently reported to his father whereupon Drupada sent his purohita to quell further doubts about their identity and later through messengers he got them to his place. Among all the things that were placed before them they took only the weapons. This made it clear to Drupada that they were not Brahmins, but only the Pāṇḍavas and he seated them therefore on thrones embedded with lustrous gems.⁸⁸ In the Mahābhārata we are further told that at the request of Drupada, the Pāṇḍavas revealed their identity and told him everything that had happened after they left the lac-palace.

*Dhṛṣṭadyumnas tu pāncālyah prṣṭhataḥ kurunandanau
anvagacchat tadā yāntau Bhārgavasya niveśanam*

Mbh. 1.181.1.

*Dhṛṣṭadyumnaḥ somaśānām prabharho
vrttam yathā yena hṛtā ca kṛṣṇā*

Mbh. 1.185.1cd.

*tatas sa rājā Drupadaḥ prahṛṣṭaḥ
purohitam preṣayām tatra cakre*

Mbh. 1.185.14 ab.

*pāncālarājasya samīpato'nyaḥ
tatrājagāmāśu naro dvitīyah*

Mbh. 1.185.28 bc.

*utkrāmya sarvāṇi vasūni tatra
sāṅgrāmikāny āvivīśur nṛvīrāḥ*

Mbh. 1.186.14 cd.

*papraccha cainam dharmātmnā yathā te pradrutāḥ purā
sa tasmai sarvaṃ ācakhyāu ānupūroyeṇa pāṇḍavaḥ*

Mbh. 1.187.14.

⁸⁷ Stanza 68, Draupedimāleiyit'sarga.

⁸⁸ Stanza 69, Draupedimāleiyit'sarga.

With the exception of Pāṇḍavas being seated on thrones all the rest is found in the Mahābhārata.

According to the Tamil work Nālāyani became Indrasenā and married Maudgalya, whose mind was fixed on penance and therefore he deserted her. At the time of desertion, much overpowered by her love towards him, Indrasenā asked him as to what she was to do separated from him. He advised her to make penance for Śiva and she followed his advice.⁸⁹ The Mahābhārata also says also at the time of desertion Indrasenā requested Maudgalya to take her too with him. He cursed her thereupon to be born as Drupada's daughter and marry five husbands because she was impeding his penance. Then she made penance for Śiva.

*prasīda bhagavan mahyam na mām utśraṭum arhasi
avitrīptāsmi brahmarṣe kāmānām kāmasevanāt*

Appendix I, No. 100, lines 71-72, Mbh.

*yasmāt tvam mayi niśāṅkā hy avakṭavyam prabhāṣase
ācarantī topoviṅghnam tasmāc chṛṇu vaco mama
bhaviṣyasi nṛloke tvam. rājaputri yaśasvinī
pāncālarājāsya sūtā Drupadasya mahātmanah
bhavītāras tu te tatra patayaḥ pañca viśrutāḥ*

Appendix I, No. 100, lines 75-79, Mbh.

After Śiva made his appearance, Indrasenā bathed in the Ganges and was weeping alone. The tears streaming from her eyes fell into the waters and became transformed into a cluster of beautiful golden lotuses. Indra looked at this wonder and approached her asking her what it was.⁹⁰

Once in Naimiśāranya, the devas were performing a sacrifice. Yama in his *dikṣā*, engrossed in ceremonial rites could not perform his legitimate duties. Hence the earth was overcrowded. Gods like Indra, Candra, Varuṇa and Kubera, fearing much this state of affairs, went to Brahmā, who told them that from out of their semen another person born like Yama, would destroy the overpopulation. These gods were coming from celestial regions to earth and were going towards Naimiśāranya. They saw a golden lotus in the Ganges and marvelled at it. Then Indra approached the girl that was near the lotus and asked her what it was. This is the version in the Mahābhārata.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Stanzas 79-80, Draupadimāliyiṭṭasārgā.

⁹⁰ Stanza 82, Draupadimāliyiṭṭasārgā.

⁹¹ Mbh. 1.189.1-12.

Indra fell down on account of the anger of Śiva and Śiva further took him to a cave and showed him four other Indras with vajrāyudha in their hands.⁹² According to the Mahābhārata-version also, Śiva warned him not to commit the same fault of indifference and showed him a cave saying "enter here which contains others like you". Indra said, "let me not be like them." Śiva got wild, "since you insulted me on account of your youth enter here!"

*tam abravīd bhagavān ugratejā
maivam punaḥ śakra kṛtāḥ kathanicit*
Mbh. 1.189.18cd.

*viṣṭya caivōviśa madhyamasya
yatrāsate tvadvidhāḥ sūryabhāṣaḥ*
Mbh. 1.189.19cd.

*sa tām abhipreṣya babhūva duḥkṛtāḥ
kaccin nāham bhaviṭā vai yatheme*
Mbh. 1.189.20.

*darīm etām praviśa tvam śatakrato
yan mām bālyād avamaṁsthāḥ purastāt*
Mbh. 1.189.21cd.

All the former four Indras along with the new one worshipped Śiva who told them that they should become husbands of Indrasenā. Thereupon these gods came to be born on earth.⁹³ In the Mahābhārata also we are told that Śiva told all the five Indras in the caves, "Be born on earth as kings of men on account of your insult to me; and then marry her (Indrasenā) who also will be born as a king's daughter. After expiating your fault through your righteous rule come back again to the celestial regions." All the five Indras then requested him to grant Yama, Vāyu, Indra and Aśvinī-devas as their future fathers. Śiva granted them this boon.

yonim sarve mānūṣīm āviśadhvam
Mbh. 1.189.25 b.

*tām cāpy eṣām yōṣitam lokakāntām
śriyam bharyām vyadadhān mānuṣeṣu*
Mbh. 1.189.29 cd.

*āgantāraḥ punarevendralokam
svakarmaṇā pūrvajitam mahārham*
Mbh. 1.189 26 ab.

⁹² Stanzas 83 and 84, Draupadīm-laiyitṭasarga.

⁹³ Stanza 85, Draupadīm-laiyitṭasarga.

There is a significant departure in the Tamil work from both the *Bālabhārata* as well as the *Mahābhārata* in the matter of Draupadi's marriage with the Pāṇḍavas. Here alone it is mentioned that she went around the fire each time she wedded the Pāṇḍavas one after the other.⁹⁴ Possibly Villiputtūrār had in mind the line *babhūva kanyaiva gate gate 'hani*.⁹⁵

When the Pāṇḍavas were flourishing in Pāñcālanagara Dhṛtarāṣṭra held a consultation with his ministers and decided to give the kingdom that was his due to Dharmaputra. The Tamil work departs from both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bālabhārata* in that according to its version only some messengers were sent and not Vidura for inviting Pāṇḍavas to Hastināpuri.⁹⁶

6. *Indraprastha Sarga.*

When the Pāṇḍavas went to the awe-inspiring forest called Khāṇḍavaprastha, Kṛṣṇa was thinking as to how they were to live there. He thought of Indra who immediately came along with Viśvakarma. Indra commanded Viśvakarma to build up a marvellously beautiful city. This command was carried out and the city won the admiration of every one. This is according to the Tamil version (stanzas 8-12, *Indraprasthasarga*). The Tamil work gives also a description about the city *Indraprastha* (stanzas 13-26). Such a description is not found in *Bālabhārata*. Both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bālabhārata* tell us merely that the divine carpenter said to Kṛṣṇa that he had come through the command of Indra who had asked him to build a city for the Pāṇḍavas. Then Viśvakarma built the charming city, named after Indra.⁹⁷ A long description of *Indraprastha* is found in the *Mahābhārata* also.⁹⁸ According to the Tamil version the Pāṇḍavas entered the city and

⁹⁴ Stanza 96, *Draupadimālaiyittasarga*.

⁹⁵ *Mbh.* 1.190.14 d.

⁹⁶ Stanzas 107, 108, *Draupadimālaiyittasarga*.

Cf. *Mbh.* 1.195.—1.197.

and *tato jagāma Viduro Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya śasanāt
sakāśam Yajñasenana*.....

Mbh. 1.198.7.

⁹⁷ 1.1987^v.

⁹⁸ *Mbh.* 1.199.29-49.

Viśvakarma showed it to them. The Pāṇḍavas climbed up a gopura and went into raptures over the new city built up for them.⁹⁹ Only a few of the descriptions here are in agreement with those found in the Bālabhārata which has ten ślokas upon Viśvakarma showing the beauty of the city to Dharma. All this is not found in the Mahābhārata.

7. *Arjunatīrthayātrā Sarga.*

Arjuna in his *tīrthayātrā* met Ulūpī while he was bathing in the Ganges. He fell in love with her and followed her to the nether world where he married her.¹⁰⁰ In both the Mahābhārata and the Bālabhārata it is mentioned that Ulūpī fell in love with him and took him to her palace in the nether world.

*apakṛṣṭo mahābāhur nāgarājasya kanyayā
antarjale mahārāja ulūpyā kāmayānayā*

Mbh. 1.2 06. 13.

and *ṛhitvā soapitūr veśma nīto'gam Pāṇḍu-nandanah*
1.2022*.

All the places mentioned in the Tamil work which Arjuna visited after bathing in the Yamunā, namely, Śeṣagiri, Kāñcīpura, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Tirukkōvalūr, Tiruveṇṇeynallur, Tiruvatikai, Tiruvayintirapuram, Citāmbara and Maturai,¹⁰¹ are not found in the Bālabhārata, which merely says that Arjuna went to the land of the Colas in the south, then to Maṇalūrpura of the Pāṇḍyas, where he met and married Citrāṅgadā; afterwards went to Setu and came back and again met Citrāṅgadā and left his child with his father-in-law, he reached Gokarṇakṣetra after visiting a few places in the West. In the Mahābhārata also Arjuna's marriage with Citrāṅgada is mentioned. In the Bālabhārata however we are told that Arjuna married her in the ordinary way and not first by gāndharva form of marriage,¹⁰² and lived with her for a long time. Arjuna allowing his son to be adopted by the Pāṇḍya king is found in all

⁹⁹ Stanzas 27-37, Indraprasthasarga.

¹⁰⁰ Stanza 8, Arjuna's *tīrthayātrāsarga*.

¹⁰¹ Stanzas 11-55, Arjuna's *tīrthayātrāsarga*.

¹⁰² Stanza 29, Arjuna's *tīrthayātrāsarga*.

After Arjuna's identity was known the king of Pāṇḍya rejoiced at the news and gave her to him willingly celebrating the ordinary marriage (stanzas 36-41).

the three works. According to the Mahābhārata Arjuna went to Maṇalūr, saw Citrāṅgadā and fell in love with her. He went to her father and told him his desire. The king rejoiced at this knowing him to be Arjuna and married his daughter to him with the agreement that the son born to Arjuna through her should be given to Citravāhana for adoption.¹⁰³

This happy alliance between the Pāṇḍavas and the Pāṇḍyas is mentioned not only in the Viṣṇu purāṇa and the Bhāgavata purāṇa, but also found mentioned in Nacciṇārkiṇiyar's commentary on Tolkāppiyam, the oldest Tamil work. In the folk-song Alliaracānimālai of Pukalēntippulavar, Citrāṅgadā is the heroine Alli. The old Tamil works speak of Pāṇḍyas as Paṇcavar, reminding us of the happy relationship between the two. One of the old Tamil poets, Muṭinākarāya, goes to the extent of mentioning that not only this Citravāhana Pāṇḍya, but also a Cera king, Utiyan by name, took part in the Mahābhārata war. In the celebrated Cilappatikāram again we are told that even a Cola king helped the Pāṇḍavas. As a matter of fact, the oldest Tamil poets time in and time out laid stress on the Pāṇḍava-Pāṇḍya alliance. For instance in one of the Tamil poems attributed to Kōṭamāna, who is believed to have lived according to the great Nacciṇārkiṇiyar in the first Sangam period, we find a reference to Dharmaputra.¹⁰⁴ All these show that there was no antagonism or hostility between the north and south of India, in very ancient times.

Before Arjuna reached Gokarṇa he transformed five crocodiles into divine nymphs, who were suffering from a curse Indra.¹⁰⁵ In the Bālabhārata this is not mentioned. So it is clear that Villiputtūrār follows here the original Mahābhārata,¹⁰⁶ except in the matter of stating that it was due to Indraśāpa (*intiraṇ veṇḍūpattāl*) that the divine nymphs were crocodiles. But even this discrepancy can be explained away as the commentator suggests by taking Indra (*intiraṇ*) as Munindra (*munintiraṇ*). Arjuna reached Dvārakā after leaving the sages who followed him in Gokarṇa and in order to obtain Subhadrā he took up the garb of a Sanyāsin.¹⁰⁷ The Bālabhārata version is that from Gokarṇa, Arjuna went to Prabhāsa where he left those who followed him and in order to

¹⁰³ 1.207.13-23; and Nos. 2035*, 2036* and 2037* in the critical notes on these stanzas.

¹⁰⁴ Kalki, October 1, 1943, pp. 37-38.

¹⁰⁵ Stanza 48, Arjunatīrthayātrīśarga.

¹⁰⁶ Mhb. 1.208 and 1.209.

¹⁰⁷ Stanza 49, Arjunatīrthayātrīśarga.

obtain Subhadra he disguised himself as a Sanyāsin and thought of Kṛṣṇa who came and left Arjuna in Raivatakagiri and reached Dvārakā. The Mahābhārata version is substantially in agreement with this.¹⁰⁸

Subhadra began to entertain some suspicion in her mind about the Sanyāsin and asked him one day as to what his place was. He thereupon replied that it was Indraprastha. She made enquiries about all the Pāṇdavas excepting Arjuna. Arjuna asked her why she had forgotten him. One of her attendants then replied that Subhadra deliberately omitted Arjuna's name as she was to wed him. This attendant further told him that they had heard that Arjuna had gone on tīrthayātrā. Now Arjuna revealed his identity.¹⁰⁹ In the Bālabhārata as well as the Mahābhārata it is Subhadra herself who asks the Sanyāsin where Arjuna was.¹¹⁰

After Arjuna left Dvārakā for Indraprastha with Subhadra, Balarāma learns the news and with his entire army as well as the Yadukula kings fights with Arjuna.¹¹¹ According to the Mahābhārata as well as the Bālabhārata, Balarāma only wanted to fight with Arjuna along with an array of Yādava warriors, but he was appeased by Kṛṣṇa's words.¹¹²

8. *Khāṇḍavadahana Sarga.*

When Agni was burning the Khāṇḍava forest, Maya cried aloud "Arjuna I save me." Kṛṣṇa with eyes red and holding up the lustrous Cakrāyudha in his hand showed him mercy.¹¹³ According to the Mahābhārata, Agni did not burn Maya, after Kṛṣṇa himself with Cakrāyudha desisted from killing him, since Maya sought protection from Arjuna, which Arjuna promised.¹¹⁴

From an examination of the entire Ādiparva of Villiputtūrār Bhāratam in Tamil, which we have given above, it is clear that the work was not

¹⁰⁸ 1.210.1-15 ab, No. 204*.6, and 1.210. 15 rd.

¹⁰⁹ Stanzas 63-68, Arjunatīrthayātrāsarga.

¹¹⁰ Appendix I, No. 114, lines 117-135.

¹¹¹ Stanzas 79-81, Arjunatīrthayātrāsarga.

¹¹² Mbh. 1.212.25-213.12.

¹¹³ Stanza 74, Khāṇḍavadahanasarga.

¹¹⁴ Mbh. 1.219.37-40.

merely based on Agastya's epitome as was once supposed.¹¹⁴ No doubt as Villiputtūrār intended to write only an epitome of the great work, he must have used the Bālabhārata also. Such a thesis cannot be contested in view of the ample evidence which we have shown in the foregoing paras. There can be no doubt that Villiputtūrār must have had access also to several versions of the great epic in many Purāṇas. But it is quite evident that he had mainly in view the original Mahābhārata, obviously through the southern recension of the epic. A complete evaluation as to how far he was indebted to the Bālabhārata as well as to the other Purāṇic versions is undoubtedly necessary. But this is a task which we have not set ourselves to here. Many other problems also arise such as his dividing the work into Sargas and his use of peculiarly Sanskritised compounds¹¹⁵ as well as modifications of numerous Sanskrit words.¹¹⁶ We have confined ourselves, in this paper, only to the Ādiparva mainly for reasons of space.¹¹⁷ But it is needless for us to point out that it will be most fruitful to subject the entire Tamil work to a detailed comparison with the whole of the Mahābhārata, using fully all the *apparatus criticus* which is furnished by the Critical Edition.

114 *Villiputtūrār-Bhāratam*, Introd pp 4-7 (Ādiparva). See also Introd to Aranyakaparva, p 5 and to Virāṭaparva, p 2

115 See for instance the tatpuruṣa compound *vayanai* consisting of Sanskrit *vaya* and Tamil *nai*; stanza 123, Kūṭukulasarga

Cf. also *vayanai* from Sanskrit *vayat* + *nadī*. Very significant is the epithetised compound *okṣaramayinnayutay*, stanza 45, line 3, Vānāvatasarga "he from whom truth has left," meaning "you who have given up truth!" We need hardly point out here that many a problem in syntax and stylistics arises from this interesting, melodious poem of Villiputtūrār.

Cf. again *vākusikāram*, evidently from Sanskrit *bāhu-sikhāro* (stanza 71, line 3, Vānāvatasarga).

116 For instance *āṇā*, *paṇṇi* for *ācārya*, *paṇḍ* respectively, stanza 34m Vānāvatasarga.

117 We are indebted to Prof KAIRE for suggesting this interesting subject to us.

A word about the method of transliteration followed in this paper as applied to the Tamil passages cited here may be felt to be necessary. We have not taken into account the precise phonetic values of the sounds transcribed by the traditional Tamil alphabet. For purposes of convenience, we have assumed for instance that there are no voiced or aspirate stops in any position. But for well known Sanskrit words such as proper nouns, we have followed the more usual method in transliterating accurately, even when these words occur in the Tamil passages, e.g. Duryodhana.

TRANSLATIONS¹ OF THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA* INTO ARABIC AND PERSIAN.

By

SHAIKH CHĀND HUSAIN.

Transmission of ancient lore by translations from one language into another, is one way of enriching a civilisation. During the Muslim rule, the earliest effort that seems to have been made in this direction, was almost in the very first century² of the birth of Islām, although that effort could not bear satisfactory fruit until the establishment of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate. Of the earlier 'Abbāsīds, the regimes of Hārūn'r-Raṣhīd and his son Ma'mūn are well-known for the translation activities of their courts. Scholars and learned people from other religions, sects and nations, who were amply patronised by the Caliphs, succeeded in bringing out complete translations into Arabic of a good many Latin, Greek, Roman, Pahlawī and Sanskrit works that were considered useful at that time. Philosophy, Metaphysics and Logic, Ethics and Moral Sciences; Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology; Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology and Geology, Poetics, Rhetoric and Oratory; History, Geography and Anthropolology; Works dealing with Religions, Sects' Superstitions, Legends, Romances, Fables, Tales and Fiction; Medicine and Surgery—in fact a number of works bearing upon all these subjects was undertaken for translation into Arabic. It was with the help of the knowledge and information contained in these works that the Muslims

¹ As this paper deals only with the *Mahābhārata*, I have not taken into consideration other works—multifarious in number—which were translated into Arabic and Persian. I propose to deal with this wider problem in a separate paper "Muslim interest in Sanskrit learning," to be published later.

² Especially the Umayyad period, when Syrians and Jews rendered into Arabic a number of books; see NICHOLSON, *Lit. Hist. of the Arabs* (Cambridge 1930), 358.

achieved an unprecedented success in their scientific and other pursuits, and it is again on account of their unsparing labour that many a gem of world-knowledge has been rescued from perishing. It need not particularly be pointed out that in the above work of translation Sanskrit and Indian works received a paramount attention.

Dr. Mawlawī Sayyid Sulaimān Nadwī has given in his masterly work entitled '*Arab wa Hind Kay Tā'illuqāt*, Allāhābād 1930, a complete and descriptive list of all those Sanskrit works that were translated into Arabic. But as we are here concerned with the *Mahābhārata* alone we need not go into any lengthy discussion about other works translated from the Sanskrit language.

So far as our knowledge goes the earliest effort to transmit the *Mahābhārata* lore was made in Pahlawi, through which language some of its stories and legends were translated into the Arabic by Ibnū'l-Muqaffa' in his Arabic classical work, the *Kalila wa Dimna*.¹ The present Arabic classic of the *Kalila Wa Dimna* is therefore the first work that contains stories borrowed from the *Mahābhārata*.

Another Arabic work which contained some *Mahābhārata* stories is the original of the present Persian work, the *Mujmalu't-Tawārīkh*² of which an incomplete but unique copy is preserved in the *Bibliothèque du Roi* at Paris (MS. No. 62). This unique copy was described at different times in the *Journal Asiatique* by M. QUATREMERE and M. MOHL. An abstract from it containing the *Mahābhārata* legend was published by M. RAINAUD, l' Institute, Paris, in 1845 in his work which bore the title : "*Fragments Arabes et Persans, inédits, relatifs à l'Inde, antérieurement au XIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne*" (that is, "Unpublished Arabic and Persian Fragments about India before the eleventh century of the Christian Era").

³ The Persian Rihzū, "better known as "Abdullah Ibnū'l-Muqaffa', who was put to death (circ. AD. 760) by order of the Caliph Mansūr, made several translations from the Pehlvi or Middle Persian literature into Arabic". NICOLSON, *op. cit.*, 346.

⁴ The original Sanskrit was rendered into Pahlawi, from which language Ibnū'l-Muqaffa' made his famous version into Arabic.

⁵ ELLIOT and DAWSON, *Hist. of India etc.*, i. 100; also see Mawlawī Sayyid Sulaimān NADWĪ, "*Arab wa Hind Kay Tā'illuqāt*, 158-59.

This was accompanied by a translation in French by the editor. My friend and colleague Dr. R. G. Harshe^{5a} published an English translation of the French version, with extensive and critical notes which throw a good deal of light upon the Muslim view of the *Mahābhārata*. In the introduction to this *Mujmalu'-t-Tawārīkh*, the author says⁶ :—

“ I have seen an ancient book of the Hindūs which Abū Sālih bin Shu'aib bin Jāmi' translated into Arabic from the Hindwāni language (Sanskrit). This work was translated into Persian (' from the Arabic '7b) in 417 A. H. (1026) A. D. by Abū-l Hasan 'Alī bin Muḥammad al Jīlī, Keeper of the library at Jurjān for a Chief of the D'lmites. The book I saw was in the hand-writing of the author, and bore the date above given. It is a custom of the Hindu writers on philosophy to put speeches into the mouths of beasts and birds as in the book of *Ka'ila wa Dinna*, and accordingly many such speeches are introduced into this book. I have here introduced the (account of the) origin of the kings and a short history of them, and I have copied it because it is not to be found anywhere else—but God knows.”^{7b}

The above quotation from the introduction to the *Mujmalu'-t-Tawārīkh* makes it abundantly clear that the *Mahābhārata* legend, as contained in it, was directly translated into Persian from the Arabic version. These stories are ' almost verbatim the same as they are at present preserved in the *Mahābhārata* ' .⁸

The impetus, which the earlier ' Abbāsids gave to translations from Sanskrit had another important aspect, namely, that people took a greater interest in matters pertaining to India. As a result many of the legends and old tales, superstitions and beliefs that were peculiar to India, were either directly borrowed or indirectly introduced in works produced at that time, with certain alterations to suit the peculiar atmosphere ; a number of

^{5a} BDCRI. ii, 314-24.

⁶ I have not been able to find out the name of the author nor the exact date of the composition of the book.

⁷ This Abū Sālih b. Shu'aib b. Jāmi' is also the translator of a number of other works relating to India, see, Mawlahi Sayyid Sulaimān Nadwī, *Op. Cit.*, 159 sq.

^{7a} This is clear in the Persian version published by M. Renaud (see above), see Harshe, BDCRI. ii, 314-15.

^{7b} This translation is reproduced here from ELLIOT and DOWSON, *Op. Cit.*, and does not differ much from the French or the English translation, see BDCRI, ii, 314-15.

⁸ ELLIOT and DOWSON, *Op. Cit.* p. 101.

instances of such direct or indirect borrowings from Sanskrit works can be easily cited. Apart from such borrowings, one might even suspect that many of the themes of certain poetical and prose works might have been directly inspired by Sanskrit writings. Even the present Persian national epic, the great SHĀH NĀMA of Firdawsī "—the greatest work of its kind in Persian literature—contains legends which appear to bear resemblance to, and probably might have derived their inspiration from, some of the legends of the *Mahābhārata*. In fact an orientalist has already pointed out the resemblance of certain stories and episodes in the SHĀH NĀMA of FIRDĀWSĪ with similar episodes in the *Mahābhārata*.¹⁰ I have it on reliable authority that the late Parsī scholar, Sir Jiwanjī MODI "used to compare the episode of 'Bezhan and Manijeh' with the Paurānic episode of 'Ushā and Aniruddhā' (commonly known as 'Ushā haraṇa') in which Aniruddhā falls in love with the daughter of Bāṇāsura (Ushā) and has adventures similar to those of the young ruffian Bezhan with Afrāsīyāb's daughter"—¹¹ Be that as it may, I am inclined to think that a comparative study of the SHĀH NĀMA, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* is likely to reveal a number of similarities and resemblances. But however instructive and interesting this study might prove to be, it does not unfortunately fall within the scope of the present paper.

The interest which Muslims took in Sanskrit and Indian studies continued, but not so vigorously as before, up to the establishment of the Mughal rule in India. During this intervening period the names of Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī¹² and Amīr KHUSRAW¹³ stand foremost among those who took a keen interest in Sanskrit and Indian studies.

⁹ It is known that Firdawsī based his epic on the "*Khaday Nāma*". The latter was translated from the Pahlavī into Arabic, see BROWNE, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i. 123, where the matter is fully discussed.

¹⁰ I am indebted for this information to my tutor, Khān Bahādur Professor Shaikh, M.A., I. E. S. (Retd.) But I had already arrived at this inference on my own. What really struck me was not merely the resemblance of a number of episodes but also the similarity in the description of battles, to be found both in the *Shāh Nāma* and the *Mahābhārata*.

¹¹ I am indebted for this information (through the courtesy of Khān Bahādur Professor Shaikh) to Khān Shaikh J. E. Sanjīna, B.A., formerly Oriental Translator to the Government of Bombay, who is himself a reputed scholar of Sanskrit and Persian.

¹² Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī's monumental works, the *Kutāb al-Hind* ('*India*') and the '*Aḥḥār al-Bāqiyat*' ('*Chronology of Ancient Nations*') are already familiar to students of Indian history in the translations made by Professor Sachau.

¹³ Amīr KHUSRAW, one of the most important Persian poets and writers of the *Tughluq* period is already well-known for his interest in Indian studies. He was born in A. H. 651 and died in 725 A. D. 1253-1325.

2. The next in importance is Naqīb Khān. In Abu'l-Faḍl's Ā'in-i-Akbarī among the nobles and courtiers of Akbar's court he is mentioned as number 161. According to the *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā'* (Vol. iii, p. 815) Naqīb Khān's ancestors belonged to Iran. He came with his father to Akbar's court and received in the twenty-sixth year of that monarch's reign the title of Naqīb Khān, by which he is generally known. He died in Jahāngīr's reign²³.

3. Shaikh Sulṭān of Thānēsar, also known as Hājī Sulṭān Thānēsarī, was engaged on the work of completing and revising the work of translation for four years. We have already stated elsewhere that Naqīb Khān laid the foundation but the work of completing it fell to the lot of Hājī Sulṭān²⁴.

4. The fourth scholar who took part in the work was Mullā Shīrī, a court poet. Besides translating the *Mahābhārata* he was also assigned the work of translating into Persian the *Haribans* (*Harivamśa Parvan*), "a work which deals with the life and deeds of Shīrī Krishna"—He is also the author of a work called *Hazār Shu'ā'* ("هزار شعاع"), i.e. 'Thousand Rays' in praise of the sun. He was killed in 994-1586.²⁵

Among the many collaborators in the above version of special interest to us is "Bhāwan" (Shaikh)—a Brahmin from the Deccan who later embraced Islām. Naqīb Khān makes a specific mention of his name among his assistants.²⁶

The second important version of the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* is by Abu'l-Faḍl's brother, the poet-laureate Abu'l-Faiḍī.^{26a}

The third version is generally ascribed to Prince Dārā Shukūh, son of the Mug'al Emperor Shāh Jahān. Dārā Shukūh has been rightly considered a 'great thinker' and naturally found food for thought in

²³ Jahāngīr's *Memoirs*, translated into English by BEVERIDGE, 1,264, etc.

²⁴ Badā'uni, *Op. Cit.*, per text 3 118—also see, ABORI, 6, 98.

²⁵ ABORI, 6,98; Badā'uni, *Op. Cit.*, (Lowe's Trans.), 2,362.

²⁶ Rieu, *Op. Cit.*, 57.

^{26a} I have discussed Faiḍī's version at some length in my paper "A Descriptive Handlist of Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Mss. belonging to the Satara Historical Museum etc."—*BDCRI*, 4.—One distinguishing feature of the version is its embellished style, mixed with poetry.

mystic lore of all religions, especially sufi'ism and Indian mysticism. To him we owe a number of translations from Sanskrit works.^{26b} It is a great pity that a number of works generally attributed to him are not extant. Even the MSS. of his Persian version of the *Mahābhārata* are extremely rare.

Dārā Shukūh's successor in the field of the translation of the *Mahābhārata* is a poet Badī'u'l-'Aṣr, commonly called Hājī Rabī' Anjab, Anjab being his penname. He is the author of a "metrical version" of the *Mahābhārata*. Hājī Rabī' Anjab gave himself out as a native of Andalūs (Spain). He came in his childhood to Iṣfahān, where he spent thirty years, and became a pupil of Murtaḍā Qulī Baig Zanknah, surnamed Wālā-i-Iṣfahānī. After long travels he settled in Delhī, where he died upwards of a hundred years old. Muṣḥafī, who saw him some months before his death, mentions, among his works, an imitation of the *Khamṣa* of Niẓāmī, a *Dīwān* of sixty-thousand verses, an extensive work on Imānī tenets and the above-mentioned "metrical translation of the eighteen Parvas of the *Mahābhārata*"²⁷

The fifth and the last among the more or less complete Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* must be mentioned a very late "poetical version" prepared by Budan Lāl alias Gangā Prashād. A copy in Mss. of this versified translation is preserved in the Aṣafia State Library, Hyderābād Deccan, under History section, No. 1747. It is a pity that I cannot give specimens from this version as I could not get it myself.

Besides these versions of the more or less complete *Mahābhārata*, there are to be found translations in Persian of a number of separate and independent episodes and Parvans²⁸. I reserve them for treatment later.

^{26b} For the details of which see the Introduction to his *Majma'u'l-Bahayin* ed. with translation notes, etc. by Prof. Huq. (Bibl. India, Calcutta 1920); Code, Vol. 94 (1943), pp. 75.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.711; Compare *Hamīsha Bahār*, *Oude Cot.*, 118.

²⁸ For instance, the *Bhagwat Gītā*, the *Harbana*, *Nal Daman*, etc.

The establishment of the Mughal rule in India gave a new life and sense to matters Indian. Hitherto the Muslim interest in Sanskrit and Indian studies was predominantly academic, bereft of any political objective. But with the advent of the Mughals matters changed. They not only ruled but also made India their home. As such, a greater understanding of the religions, beliefs, superstitions, history, culture and thought of the inhabitants of India became absolutely necessary for them. Babur,¹⁴ the first of the Mughal rulers, was himself a keen and careful student of Indian life and thought, and his observations regarding the above matters have got a great value from the point of view of Indian thought. After him his unfortunate son Humāyūn had neither sufficient time nor conducive circumstances to devote to Indian studies. Humāyūn's son, Akbar, devoted the utmost care to the study of other religions, histories and cultures. His attitude towards Sanskrit and Indian religions was of the most commendable type, and it was by his specific orders that a good many important Sanskrit works were undertaken for translation into Persian. The *Mahābhārata* was the most important of these.

Leaving aside the partial Arabic versions of the *Mahābhārata* episodes and legends, about which we have spoken at the commencement of this paper, there have been, so far as I know, at least *FIVE* more or less complete versions of the work in Persian. Before giving details about the Persian translations of the *Mahābhārata*, I would like to discuss another very important point: "Whether or not the Muslim Scholars, to whose effort these translations owe their existence, themselves knew the Sanskrit language".

According to Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī, the author of the celebrated *Muntakhabu't-Tawārikh*¹⁵ and one of the so-called translators of the *Mahābhārata*, order for the translation of the above work was given by the Emperor in 990/1582-83. "In the year 990", says Badā'ūnī, "His Majesty assembled some learned Hindūs, and gave them directions to write an explanation of the *Mahābhārata*, and for several nights he himself devoted his attention to explain the meaning to Nakīb Khān, so that the Khān might sketch out the gist in Persian. On a third night the king

¹⁴ Babur (1526-1530) wrote his *Memoirs* in the Turkish language. It was translated into Persian by 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān Khānān, and into English by Dr. LEYDEN and Mr. W. ERSKINE.

¹⁵ *Bibl. Indica, Series*, Calcutta. This was translated into English by LOWE.
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sent for me and desired me to translate the *Mahā-bhārat* in conjunction with Nakīb Khān. The consequence was that in three or four months I translated two out of the eighteen sections, at the puerile absurdities of which the eighteen thousand creations may well be amazed..... The translation was called *Razm-nāma*, and when fairly engrossed and embellished with pictures, the nobles had orders to take copies..... Shaikh Abū-l Fazl.....wrote the Preface.....".^{15a} The above quotation reveals a very important fact, namely, that the 'Imperial Persian Version' of the *Mahābhārata* is no more than the 'gist' of the work as "explained" to the so-called translators by the 'learned Hindūs', and that there is no warrant to say that any or all of the Muslim scholars had sufficient knowledge of the Sanskrit language, which would have enabled them to give an independent translation of the work. This is further clarified by the statement of the principal worker, Naqīb Khān, who says in the conclusion to a copy (of the *Mahābhārata* in MS.) described by Dr. Rieu^{15b} that he completed it (the work) in Sha'hān 992", and that he was assisted by some Brahmins, whom he calls

”دیهی مصر و ستاودھانی و مدسودن مسر (مصر) و چتر بھوج
و شہنچ بھادون“

i.e. Devī-Miṣrā, Śatāvadhāna, Madhūsudana-Miṣrū, Chaturbhūja and (Shaikh Bhāwan).¹⁶ Even Faiḍi's statement in the concluding lines of the first Parvan of his version of the *Mahābhārata* ¹⁷

”این آد پرپ موافق ترجمہ ہومہان کامل فرمان حضرت
شاہشاہ عالم... پادشاہ زمانہ اکبر شاہ بکاک نیر نثار و نظم نگار،
نماگوئی درگاہ ابوالفیض فیضی، کہ (از) حضرت شاہشاہی
بخطاب ملک الشعراء سرفراز است، باتمام رسید الخ۔“

^{15a} Translation reproduced from ELLIOT and DAWSON, *Op. Cit.*, 50 537-38.

^{15b} *Cat.* 1.57-8 (Add. 5642).

¹⁶ *Rieu, Op. Cit.* 1.57.

¹⁷ Manuscript belonging to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. ZZ.h21, fol. 109 b. I am indebted to the Society for the loan of this MS.

more or less, confirms the above statement, for it is evident that Faiḏī based his version upon the "translation of the learned Brahmins". As such, his rendering also cannot be considered to have been derived from his personal knowledge of Sanskrit, and is likely to suffer from omissions as is the case in his translation of *Līlāvastī*¹⁸. Probably the other translators, namely Prince Dārā Shukūh and Hājī' Rabi' Anjab, had also to depend for their versions of the *Mahābhārata* on the learned Pandits, with whom they had surrounded themselves. Dārā Shukūh has certainly made it clear that he had utilised the services of his Pandit friends, whose names he has taken pains to enumerate.

A comparative study, therefore, of the various Persian versions of the *Mahābhārata*, which we shall soon mention, with the original Sanskrit text is calculated to prove highly fruitful and instructive, but is beyond the scope of the present paper.

Coming actually to the 'Imperial Version', that is, the version prepared under Akbar's order, we find that it was undertaken in A. H. 990. But the work was not completed before A. H.¹⁹ 992. When it was completed, Abu'l-Faḏl, the Prime Minister of Akbar, wrote an introduction to it in elegant prose²⁰. In this introduction,²¹ after a long encomium on Akbar Abu'l-Faḏl says:—

...چون خاطر فیاض بمقتضای فطرت در اصلاح احوال
 جمیع طبقات برپایا متوجہ است، ہمارہ در نظر دور بہن دوست و
 دشمن و خویش و بیگانہ برابر می آید، چہ ہر گاہ طریقہ الیقین
 اطباء اہدان در معالجت جسمانی چنین باشد، سچیمہ رضیمہ
 طہیمان نفوس بطریق اولی خواہد بود۔ ہس شیمہ کریمہ دفتر
 معالجان امراض مرمضہ نفوس چوا نباشد۔ چون بدریافت کامل خود
 نزاع فرایق ملت مہدئی و جہود و یہود را بہنتر یافت، و انکار
 یکدیگر زیادہ از اندازہ معلوم شد، خاطر نکتہ دان بران قرار یافت

¹⁸ "The translation in some passages departs so far from the Original as induces the suspicion that Faiḏī contended himself with writing down the verbal explanation afforded by his assistants (*Līlāvastī*, p. 2).

¹⁹ *Badā' unī, Muntaḥḥabū'l-Tawārīkh* and ELLIOT DAWSON, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. v, p. 537.

²⁰ Rieu, *Op. Cit.*, 1.57.

²¹ Printed at pp. 1-36, Newalkishore edition, Lucknow.

که کتب معتبره طائفین برهان مخالف ترجمه کرده آید تا هر دو فریق بهرکت انقاس قدسی حضرت اکمل الومانی از شدت تعنت و عناد برآمده جوابی حق شوند و بر محاسن و عیوب یکدیگر اطلاع یابند در اصلاح احوال خود مساعی جمیل نمایند. ایضا از هر طایفه جمعی که از اقوال عالمان هرزه کار هیچمدان در پیش آمده خود را از اکابر دینی شمرده مقدمات دور از شاهراه دانش مستقیم بر تلبیسات و تزویرات خاطر نشان عوام نموده اند، و این مردوران بی سعادت چه از نادانی و چه از بیدبختی بمقتضای اعراض هوا و هوس کتب ادبیل و نصایح سلف و اقوال حکماء و اعمال سفیدگوش گذشتگان مخفی داشته بطور دیگر و امید نمایند. هرگاه کتب فریقین بعبارتی واضح عام فهم خاص پسند ترجمه یابد تا ساده لوحان عام بحقیقت کار رسیده از فضیلت نادانان دانند، نجات یابند بی مقصود حقیقت برند. بهادران حکم عالی شد کسر کتب مها بهارت که رقمزدن ارباب مهارت است، در اکثر اصول و فروع معتقدات برآمده هند اشتمال دارد و معتبرتر و برگزیده تر از کتابی درین طایفه نیست، دانایان هر دو فریق و زبان دانان هر دو طایفه از ردی اختلاف و اتفاق یکجا نشسته بمعرفت منصفان ماهر و مشرفان عاقل بعبارت عام باب ترجمه نمایند. ایضا چون متعصبان بی دید بل پیشوایان اهل تقلید هند را بر دین خود عقیده بالاتر از اندازه است و مزخرفات معتقدات خود را چه از راه بی تمیزی چه از مریب انصافی منزه از نقص دانسته راه تقلید بسر میجویند و بر ساده لوحان امری چند خاطر نشان نموده از مطالب تحقیق باز داشته در اعتقادات باطله راسخ می سازند و منتسپان دین احمدی را که بر شرایط مطالب و نقایس علوم آنها اطلاع نیست، این طایفه را صاحب ترهات محض دانسته

بیحد و فیاس انکار این طایفه می نمایند. بداء علی هذا عقل حردہ دان خواست کہ کتاب مہابھارت کہ بحث و سہیں اکثر مطالب دین اشتمال دارد، بعبارت روشن ترجمہ کردہ آید. تا مکران عنان انکار خود گرفتہ از بی اعتدالی باز آیند و معتقدان سادہ لوح از اعتقادات تقلید شرمگین شدہ بطلب حق شوند، و عوام الناس مسلمانان، کہ اوراق کتب آسمانی و دینی را نیک مطالعہ نکردہ اند و دیدہٗ عبرت بہن بر توارنخ مختلفہ روزگار از خطائیان و ہندیان و غیر ذلک نہ کشودہ اند، بل سخنان بزرگان ملت خود را مثل امام جعفر صادق (رح) و ابن عربی (رح) نخواندہ اند، ابتدای آدمیان را ہفت ہزار سال و چہری کم زبادہ میدانند۔ و این حقایق علوم و دقائق فہوم، کہ در طوایف عالم مشہور و مذکورست، از تارنخ افکار مردم ہفت ہزار می شمرند۔ بنا بران خاطر فیاض برآن شدہ کہ این کتاب را، کہ متضمن بیان کہنگی عالم و عالمیانست بل مفید قدم جہان و جہانیان، بران زود فہم ترجمہ کردہ آید تا این گروہ موقوم بقدر معنیہ گشتم ازین عقیدہٗ ناپسندیدہ باز آیند و معلوم گردد کہ لطایف علوم و شرایف فہوم را نیز سری پیدا نیست و این جواہر زواہر دانش را ابتدائی نہ. ایضاً خواطر جمہور انام علی الخصوص سلاطین عظام را باستماع توارنخ میل تمام است، چہ حکمت شاملہ الہی علم تارنخ را، کہ موجب عبرت اہل خبروست است، بر دلہا محبوب گردانیدہ تا از گذشتہا ہندی گرفتہ زمان حال را غنیمت شمرود اوقات گرانی را در مروضیات الہی صرف نمایند.

لہذا ملوک باستماع احوال گذشتگان از ہمہ محتاج تر باشند. بذہران ہمہ دانش پناہ را در ترجمہٗ این کتاب، کہ مشتمل بر

جلال ابن سام است، نظری تمام است. بناءً علیٰ هذا جمعی از دانشوران زبان‌دان، کر بر وفور دانایی و کثرت تدین انصاف داشته و از تب و عناد دور و بانصاف و اعتدال نزدیک بوده اند، جمع شده کتاب مذکور را از روی تأمل و تعمق عبارات واضح و کلمات مانوس ترجمه کردند و طوایف انام بمیل تمام تهنه نقل نسخ گرفتند بر اطراف و اکناف عالم بردند. کمتر مخلصان درگاه ابوالفضل بن مبارک بن الخضر، کر خاک آسمان ارادت بر تارک دارد و سر رشته، تہیز را بہوکت دوام ملازمت آسمان عالی دریافت از جہان نشہ لبان چشمہ سار حقیقت گشتہ در ملک اہل ارادت در آہدہ است، مامور شد کر خطبہ برای ابن ترجمہ بنویسد۔ بموجب امتثال امر عالی فقرۃ چند عجالة الوقت رقمہدہ خامہ عرس نمودہ و ہجہای از احوال ابن کتاب عنوان صحیفہ شراعت ساخت تا اوایل از اواخر نشان دادہ متعبطشان دریافت مطالب این کتاب را خوددلی بخشد الخ۔“

Translation :

“ Since the benevolent mind (of the king) is inherently inclined towards the betterment of the condition of all the groups of mankind, everyone, irrespective of friendship or enmity, relationship or estrangement, appears to the far-seeing eyes (of the king) equal..... Insofar as personal investigations have revealed the existence of mutual hatred between Muslims, Jews and Hindus to a greater extent, and their abhorrence of each other appeared to be more than what could be imagined, the subtle-conscious mind (of the king) resolved to bring about translations of reliable books of the respective communities in the languages of their opponents, so that both the parties, with the blessings from the most perfect person of the time (that is, the king), abstain from bitter hostilities and hatred and become seekers of the Truth; and being thus informed of the good and bad points of each other, may strive after improving their own condition. Similarly, from both these Communities (i.e., Hindu and Muslim), a group of persons—ignorant and mischievous—has come forward and

calls itself religious heads (of its own community). These pretenders have gained complete mastery over the minds of the poor common people by garbing far-fetched ideas in insinuating terms and, by concealing from them their ancient books, the moral teachings of their ancient sages, the utterances of the wise, and the records of the good deeds of their forefathers, have exhibited the false state of affairs to them. When, therefore, the books of the two communities were translated into the common language, which would be easily understood by all, the simple-minded folk, having thus realised the truth and thereby rescued from the clutches of the ignorant ones who show themselves as learned, would be in a position to achieve their goal in life. In view of this an order was given by His Majesty for the translation of the *Mahābhārata*, which is the work of the wise sages, containing a clear exposition of the principal and subsidiary beliefs of the Brahmins of India, and more reliable and greater than which there is no work of this community. It was ordered that learned people and linguists from both these communities, who are distinguished by their impartiality and fairmindedness gather together and render the work in a style that will be easily understood by the people. (Another reason for this order was that) short-sighted or rather the fanatical divines of India, who are conservative in their religious views and regard their absurd beliefs, partly by indiscretion and partly by their fanaticism, to be immune from defects, lead a life of bigotry and orthodoxy; and, having misrepresented certain matters to the common people, have paralysed them in their absurdities, thus preventing them from ascertaining the truth. These fanatics, who have no knowledge whatsoever of the noble principles and the advanced learning of those who are associated with the Muslim religion, consider them as simply barbarous and display an extreme hatred for them. In view of this also, it was desired by the minute-loving reason (of the king) that the *Mahābhārata*, which is replete with most valuable things connected with religion, be translated so that those who display hostility may refrain from doing so and may seek after the truth. (Again) the Muslims, who have not perused the pages of their heavenly and religious books and have not cast their wonder-seeing eyes on the different histories of the world, especially of the inhabitants of Turkistan (lit. Cathay) and India, or rather have not acquainted themselves with the utterances of the great people of their own community, like Imām Ja'far-i-Šādiq and Ibn-i-'Arabī, have thought the beginning of mankind to have taken place some seven thousand and odd years ago, and these branches of learning and the lofty ideas they regard as the outcome of the (thinking) activity of

these seven thousand people.(?) The generous mind (of the king) decided, therefore, to bring about a translation of this work, as it establishes the more ancient character of the world and its inhabitants, with a view to warning these men to abstain from such absurd beliefs and to show to them that the finest of learning and the noblest of ideas have no secret which is divulged, and that one cannot find an exact beginning of these lustrous pearls. Furthermore (it has been observed), minds of human beings, especially those of great monarchs, have great inclination towards history, for it is God's world-encompassing wisdom that has made most beloved history, which is the means of warning those who care. History lays bare, before its readers, incidents of importance from the lives of the ancients with a view to prepare them for such contingencies, and to enable them to avail of the good opportunities of life and engage themselves in matters that are a source of divine pleasure. It is on account of this character of history that kings more than other people are in need of it. The king's attention is, therefore, naturally attracted by this work. A group of learned men conversant with the language, who are characterised by abundance of wisdom and religiosity and are away from partiality and prejudice and nearer unto justice and fairness, assembled together and translated the above work, after considerable deliberation and contemplation, in clear and familiar words. Groups of men, considering it as a blessing, had copies taken of the work, which they carried far and wide. The humblest of the servants of the Court, Abu'l-Faḍl bin Muḥārīk bin al-Khidr.....was ordered to write a Preface to this translation²².,,

After this Abu'l-Faḍl gives a general sketch of the Hindū system of Cosmogony and of the contents of the book.

The chief persons who took part in this 'Imperial Version' have been already mentioned above. We would, nevertheless, give a brief account of them below.

1. The most important is certainly the historian Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī, who is already well-known to the students of Indian history^{22a}.

²² I have tried to give more or less a fair and free translation of the original Persian.

^{22a} For a detailed account of Badā'ūnī, please see ĀZĀD, M.H., *Darbār-i-Alḥiyāʾī*, Lahore 1939; J. J. Modi, article in the *ABORI*, 6, 97-98; *Ency. of Islam*, 1; etc.

THE ILLUSTRATED EDITION OF THE RAZM NAMA
(Persian Version of the Mahābhārata)
At Akbar's Court

By

M. A. CHAGHATAI

Ever since the establishment of the Abbasid Caliphate in A. D. 749, Muslims have taken interest in Indian classics. To this interest we owe the first Arabic translation of the Mahābhārata by Abu Salih b. Shua'ib b. Jami',¹ and translations or adaptations of the Mahābhārata and other Sanskrit and Hindu works in the succeeding period.² But the greatest attempt at the understanding of Hindu culture was made by Akbar, as is well-known.

Abu'l-Fazl³ says that "the Mahābhārata, which ranks among the ancient books of the Hindus has likewise been translated, from Hindi into Persian under the superintendence of Naqib Khan, Maulana Abdul Qadir Badāyuni⁴ and Shaikh Sultan

¹ *Mujim'u'-Tawarikh wal-Qasas*, ed. by Mahku'sh-Shu'ri Bahār, Tehran, 1918, 106-24.

Abu'l-Hasan Ali b. Muhammad al-Halabi, the librarian of the library at Junan, translated the Arabic version of Abu Salih b. Shua'ib into Persian in A. H. 417 A. D. 1026 which was used by the author of the *Mujmal* in A. H. 520. A. D. 1125, Elliot-Dowson, 1.100-1.

R. G. Harsh, *Arabic Version of the Mahābhārata Legend*, BDCRI 2.314-24

² Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, Allahabad, 1936, 214. Nā'n Shah of Bengal got it translated 1325 A. H. and just after it another translations of the same was made in the period of Hussain Shah, the successor of Nasir Shah by Kavindra Parasseshwar.

³ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Calcutta, 1872, 1.103-5.

⁴ According to Badāyuni the translation was undertaken in 990 A. H. Abu'l-Fazl wrote an introduction to the Persian translation in 995 A. H. and his elder brother Faizi turned it into elegant prose and poetical version in 997 A. H. It has been discussed by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi in his article "King Akbar and the Persian translation of Sanskrit Books," *ABORI* 4.83-107. *Memoirs of Jahangir* (Ed. and Trans. by Rogers and Beveridge) 1.264-5.

Thānesari⁵. The book contains one hundred thousand verses. His Majesty calls this ancient history 'Razm Nama' the 'Book of Wars'. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badāyuni, one of the collaborators of the Persian version, calls it "a gist or adaptation" and gives an account of this attempt of Akbar in his *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*⁶.

To understand Hindu culture, Akbar not only got the Mahābhārata translated or adapted in Persian but got it illustrated also by his court-artists. It is the aim of this paper to study these illustrations and to show how Akbar sought the inspiration of his entire court in this work.

Muslim artists and calligraphists in mutual collaboration began to prepare illuminated Mss. of the holy Quran and illustrated editions of literary productions from the 2nd century of Islam⁷ onwards, although religious scruples were a great impediment in the representation of animated figures. References to these early Muslim artists and their works are available,⁸ but unfortunately specimens of several of them have been lost through the ravages of time. However, the best and the earliest extant specimen of an illuminated manuscript of the Quran is dated A. H. 427 A. D. 1036⁹ which can be regarded as a genuine representation of the art of Muslim decoration and illumination. The Indian fables of *Bidpai* or the book of Kalila and Dimna¹⁰ is among the

⁵ Badāyuni, Mulla Abdul Qadir, *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, 3, 144.

Ibid. II, text 319. Trans. II, 186, 329.

Darbar-i-Akbari, 450; *Ain-i Akbari*, 105.

Katha Sarit Sagara, India Office Catalogue of Persian manuscripts, 1987 and Woolner Commemoration Volume; C. A. Storey, 'Abd Al-Qadir Badayuni and the Katha Sarit Sagara, 249-50; Badāyuni Trans. 2401-2, 415-6.

Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 2, text 467

Badāyuni, 3 (Trans.) 115-6, 173-4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, text, 2, 319-21. Trans. by Low, 2, 329-30.

⁷ Ibn Nadi, *Kitabu'l-Fihrist*, Cairo. 24.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Pope, Arthur Upham, *Survey of Persian Art*, Oxford, 1939. Plate 926 "Decorative page from a Quran" written by Abu'l-Qasim Sa'id ibn Ibrahim, Abu Ibrahim ibn Sa'ib al Mughahib, in Jumada I, year 427 A. H. (March 1036), British Museum.

¹⁰ *Encyclopaedia of Islam under Kalila Wa Dimna*.

first illustrated books at the court of the Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad. The earliest extant manuscript of it with miniatures was prepared at Baghdad.¹¹

In India we find traces of indigenous art and literature in ancient frescoe-paintings and on palm leaf manuscripts, but we do not find any trace of miniature-painting patronized by the Muslims before the days of the Mughals.

The introduction of the Mughal school of miniature-painting in India was due to Humayun. What had happened was this :—Only a few years before, a great upheaval had taken place in Persia and Central Asia by the death of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqra of Herat in 1506, which meant the end of the Timuride dynasty and all patronage of the learned. The many artists and literati at his court whose masterpieces were the mainstay of the mediæval Persian culture had now to seek refuge elsewhere.¹² Bihzad and a few others were taken over by Isma'il Safawi to Isfahan.¹³ Others sought refuge with Humayun at Kabul before his return to India and were brought by him to India. Two of them Khawaja Ahdu's-Samad and Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrizi deserve special mention, for they were mostly responsible for introducing the Indo-Persian style of Painting into India and trained Indian artists on the same line and technique.

Babur and Humayun had very little opportunity in India to look to cultural activities. However, it is certain that Humayun had initiated the idea of illustrating the Romance of Amir Hamza.¹⁴ After his death Akbar began to patronize literary and artistic pursuits and encouraged their development on very scientific lines. For this he utilised the services of the two above-noted Persian artists and established a Department of Painting at his court ; according to the *Ain-i-Akbari*,¹⁵

¹¹ Buchthal, Hugo, Indian Fables in Islamic Art, the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, pt. 4, 1941, 317-24.

¹² Latâif Nâma-i-Fakhri of Mulla Ali Sher Nawai, Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, Series, ed. by Sayyid Abdulla, 1932.

¹³ Chaghatai, M. A. "Ustad Kamu'd-Din Bihzad," "Karwan Annual 1932", pp. 277. 292.

¹⁴ Oriental College Magazine, M. Muhammad Shafi, 'Qissa-i-Amir Hamza,' Lahore, Nov. 1925, Feb. 1926.

¹⁵ Eng. Trans. by Blochmann, 107.

Akbar himself used to take a keen interest in art and thus enabled the artists to produce good work, which matched that of Bihzad and other renowned artists of the world. The number of artists was very large, of whom many had already attained fame. The artists worked in one hall engaged in their respective duties. The following books were illustrated by these artists as mentioned in the *Ain-i Akbari*.¹⁶

1. The story of Hamza in twelve volumes.
2. The Changez Nama.
3. The Zafar Nama.
4. The Akbar Nama.
5. The Razm Nama (Mahābhārata).
6. The Rāmāyana.
7. The Nal Daman.
8. The Kalila wa Dimna.
9. The 'Iyār-i-Dānish.

We are, here, mainly concerned with the miniatures of the *Razm Nama*. A list of other illustrated works of this type as found in different collections and not noted in any history is here given¹⁷ because all these were jointly executed by the court-artists, a vast majority of whom must have shared in illustrating the *Razm Nama*.

Abu'l-Fazl has named only seventeen artists in his *Ain-i-Akbari* although there were hundreds of them according to him. Proof of their existence at Akbar's court is also available from their signatures as found on their own master-pieces. The seventeen artists mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*¹⁸ are :—

- (1) Mir Sayyid Ali of Tabrez. (2) Khawja Abdu's-Samad.
- (3) Jaswanth. (4) Basawan. (5) Kesu. (6) Lal. (7) Mukand.
- (8) Maskin. (9) Farrukh, the Qalmaq. (10) Madhu. (11) Jagan.
- (12) Mahesh. (13) Khem Karav. (14) Tara. (15) Sanwala. (16) Harbans and (17) Ram.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁷ See Appendix A.

¹⁸ Eng. Trans. 108.

The account of the first two artists is given below from the *Ain-i-Akbari* and other sources

1. Mir Sayyid Ali was a Tabrizi¹⁹. His father Mir Mussawar, a native of Tabriz, is well-known as a master in the art of painting which he had inherited from his forefathers. In A. H. 956 (A. D. 1549) having reached Kabul, he got into the service of Humayun, who had a great appreciation of his art. He had the title of Nadnu'l-Mulk, which was bestowed upon him by Humayun. He, however, preferred to be known as '*Humayun Shahi*'. He received the favour of Akbar, with whom he continued in service. The author of the *Nafaisu'l-Maathir* writing in A. H. 979 (A. D. 1571) says 'He is busy in the royal library with the illustration of Amir Hamza.'

2. Khwaja Abdu's-Samad²⁰ was a Shirazi. His father Nizamul-Mulk was the *wazir* of Shah Shuja of Shiraz. Before Humayun left Iran, he went to Tabriz where Abdu's-Samad paid him his respects. He was even at that time known as a painter and calligraphist. He was also called *Shirin Qalam* (Sweet Pen). Humayun invited him to come to India, and though then unable to accompany him, he followed him in 956 to Kabul and entered his service. Under Akbar, he was a commander of four hundred but low as his mansab was, he had great influence at court.

Abu'l-Fazl²¹ has also given a brief account of Jaswanth and Basawan whose names very frequently occur on the miniatures of the *Razm Nama*. They apparently belonged to the old stock of Indian artists, already working here on indigenous lines of frescoes as the words of Abu'l-Fazl, quoted below, indicate:—

"Daswanth is the son of a *palki* bearer. He devoted his whole life to art, and from love of his profession used to draw and paint

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 107, Nafaisu'l-Maathir quoted by M. Shah in the paper, Shikhi-i-Sadiq of Muhammad Sadiq M.A. British Museum (Exon 1016), 77

The work of Mir Sayyid Ali's father with the note 'Drawn by Mir Mussawar' is reproduced in the Survey of Persian Art Pl. 901. Abu'l-Fazl has given (AA P text, 254) his name as Mir Minatur which is not correct. Mir Sayyid Ali made a portrait of his father (in the Louvre, Paris) representing him as he was (i.e. very old) to accompany the latter's petition requesting for permission to retire from service on account of old age. Miniatures Indiennes du Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1929, par Louis Sicchoukine, 211-2

²⁰ Badāyuni, 330

²¹ Ain-i-Akbari, 108,

figures even on the walls. One day, His Majesty saw him, discovered his talents and handed him over to the Khwaja. In a short time, he surpassed other painters. Unfortunately, he became mad and committed suicide. He has left many master-pieces."

In back-grounding, drawing of features, distribution of colours, portrait-painting and several other branches, Baswan excells so much that some critics prefer him to Daswanth.

The Royal copy of the *Razm Nama* contains more miniatures than any other illustrated work of Akbar's period, with the exception of the Romance of Amir Hamza which was prepared in the very early years of Akbar's reign. Other illustrated copies of the *Razm Nama* were ordered by the courtiers of Akbar (some of them have been referred to here) but many of them have not so far come to light. It is certain that all these copies of the *Razm Nama* were prepared by a vast number of artists of Akbar's period.

In view of the above account of the artists and the illustrated works prepared at Akbar's court by them it would be useful to give the names of the artists in alphabetical order²² and references to the works or copies in which their signed miniatures are found.

Fortunately one Ms. (App. B. No. 1) belonging to the Imperial Library of Akbar is preserved in the Pothi Khana (State Library) of Jaipore State. Dr. Col. H. T. HENDLEY has already published from this unique Ms. 148 miniatures out of 165 in addition to the last page of the colophon with many autographs and seals which is reproduced (Fig. 1) here. He has also written a useful introduction to it dealing with the story of the epic as based on this Persian text.

The colophon described below will help to explain the procedure of the royal library of Akbar especially because of the entries made by the persons in charge of the Library and the seals of other officials holding the portfolio of Libraries. Moreover, all these endorsements which range from Akbar's period down to the period of Shah' Alam A. H. 1118 (A. D. 1707), show that the Ms. had been in constant use at the courts of the Mughal monarchs.

²² See Nos. I and H in Appendix A.

Though it is not dated, yet the date, which can be inferred from the earliest autographs of librarians in-charge, is the 24th of the month of Aḥd Bibisht, 40th regnal year of Akbar i.e. A. H. 1004 (A. D. 1595), which means that this royal copy was in existence before being taken in charge of by the librarian.

The calligraphist has put his name in two converging lines thus

نامہ تمام مرید در جہار مریم احلاص
پای بردای سربعد الصمد صوب آدم بربرفت

'completed under the arrangement of Sharif (son of) Abu's Samad, who being a disciple in four stages of purity²³ is firm in the Durr-i-Ilahi—(Divine Truth)

Muhammad Sharif, the organiser of this Ms. was the son of Khwaja Abdu's-Samad, who in his youth was trained under the eye of Khalifa-i-Ilahi (Akbar). He was a poet having the *nom-de-plume* Fārsī. He excelled in calligraphy and painting. Further details regarding both Sharif and his father Abdu's-Samad are given below in the account of paintings. Sharif's signature also appears on plates CI and CV of the *Razm Nama* of Jaipore as a collaborator with Bhura and Banwarī. Under Jahangir, he was raised to a higher status and received the title of Amīr-ul-Umara, which also appears on one of his miniatures, namely a portrait of Jahangir. The Seals read as follows.—

محب علی بندہ اکبر شاہ

'Muhibbi Ali, servant of King Akbar'. There were many persons of this name during Akbar's period, but there was one Muhibbi

²³ Abu'l-Fazl, *Makatib*, Lucknow, 1893, p. 227

Sh. Abu'l-Fazl has explained these four stages of purity of the Disciples thus: Jan (life), Māl (wealth), Nāmūs (dignity) and Dīn (religion). He has dealt with this point in the course of his commentary on the *Adāb-u'l-Murīdīn* of Shaikh Shāfi' u'd-dīn Munyān. Kh. Badai Prof. S. A. K. Sarfarāz kindly directed me to this reference and K. B. Prof. M. M. Shafi directed me to Bodrum 2/304.

Tabaqat-i Akbari, 2512, *Memoirs of Jahangir*, 2145

²⁴ BM. OR. 1854, 929

Ali, father of Inayatu' Allah. The latter had composed a history of Akbar's later period under the name of 'Takmila-i-Akbar Nama or (supplement to Akbar Nama.)

فتوح الله ابو الفتح²⁵

'Fatullah son of Abu'l-Fath' was one of the courtiers of Akbar i.e. the son of Hakim Abu'l-Fath. He was killed by Jahangir on account of his being an accomplice of Khusraw.

آقا ملا بدیع الزمان³

'Aga Mulla Badi'u'z-Zaman'²⁶ The seal is a fine tughra in an elliptical form. This Aga Mulla Badi'uz Zaman was the son of Aga Mulla Dawatdar and the paternal uncle of Mumtaz Mahal, the wife of Shah Jahan.

عبدالحق ابن قاسم شیرازی⁴

'Abdul Haq son of Qasim Shirāzi'²⁷ is inscribed in a very fine round tughra. This Abdul Haq was a great calligraphist of the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Jahangir employed him in the transcription of the inscriptions of Akbar's mausoleum at Agra since his name (as found in this seal) appears there both on the front and back facades of the gateway of the mausoleum. During the period of Shah Jahan also, he was engaged on the inscriptions of the Taj. His title 'Amanat Khan' is found inscribed on the dome of the Taj.

بدیع شاه جهان صادق خان⁵

'Sadiq Khan, the servant of Shahjahan'²⁸ There were many other 'Sadiq Khans' but this presumably is Muhammad Sadique who had

²⁵ Memoirs of Jahangir, Eng. Transl. 122-3.

²⁶ Ain-i-Akbari, I. Transl. 369.

²⁷ Chaghatai, M.A., Taj Mahal, Brussels, 1938, 129-30. Makhmur-ul-Umara, 2,790-2.

Muraqqa-i-Akbarabad, Saeed Ahmad Marahrawi, Agra, 1931. 120.

²⁸ BM. Or. 814, Brn. Or. 1617. Elliot Dowson, VII. 133,

composed a history of Shah Jahan's reign and was given the title of 'Sadie Khan' by Shah Jahan. He held the office of Waqa-Navis in Agra.

6. ارشد خان خانم زاد شاه عالم بادشاه شازی

'Arshad Khan, the child of a slave or born in the family of Shah 'Alam Badshah Ghazi'.²⁹ He was the Diwan of the Deccan and was the grand-son of Arshad Khan who was the Diwan of Kabul during the reign of Aurangzeb.

The remaining four seals are not clear.

Endorsements or autographs by the in-charges of the Library :—

1. بتاريخ ۲۳ ماه اردی بهشت الهی سن ۴۰ در بلد لکهنو
عرض دیده شد

Presented for perusal on the 24th of the month of Ardi Bihisht Ilāhi year 40 (A.D. 1595) at the city of Lucknow.

11. بتاريخ ۱۵ امرداد سن ۴۲ عرض دیده شد در تحویل بهادر
چهار نموده شد

Presented for perusal on the 15th of Amardad, year 42 (A. D. 1597) and entrusted to the charge of Bahadur Chela.

111. الله اکبر—در تحویل خواجہ عنایت الله بتاريخ ۱۹ اردی
بهشت سن ۴۳ عرض دیده شد

Allah is Great : In the custody of Khwaja Inayatullah. Presented for perusal on the 19th of Ardi Bihisht, year 43.

IV. الله اکبر—بتاریخ پنجم امرداد ماه الهی بتحویل بهادر رکتابدار از
تحویل خواجہ عنایت الله

Allah is Great : On the 5th of Amardad, Khwaja Inayatullah gave it in the charge of Bahadur,³⁰ the librarian.

²⁹ Muntakhabu'l-Lab'ib, 2 613; Maathiru'l-Umara, 1.290.

³⁰ Maathir-i-Robini, 3.1378.

الله اکبر۔ بتاریخ غره خورداد سنہ ۱۰۰۰ از تحویل خواجہ
عدایت الله بتحویل خواجہ عبیر شد

Allah is Great : On the 1st of Khurdad, year 1st (of Jahangir's reign 1014 A. H. A.D. 1595) Khwaja Daulat³¹ gave it into the custody of Khwaja Abir.

الله اکبر۔ بتاریخ ۲۰ ماه شهر یور الهی سنہ ۷ بنابر
وجوه تحویل محمد یوسف بتحویل حبیب الله شد

Allah is Great : On 20th Sharwar Ilāhi, year 7th (A.D. 1613). It is transferred from the custody of Muhammad Yusuf,³² to that of Habibullah.

VII. از وجوه بتحویل حبیب الله بتحویل محمد مومن شد

Allah is Great : On 19th Azar, year 8 (A.D. 1614) presented for perusal.

VIII. بتاریخ ۱۱ ماه آذر الهی سنہ ۱۵ از تحویل ملا صالح
بتحویل ملا لعلمان شد

On the 11th of the month of Azar (Ilāhi), year 15th (A.D. 1620) Mullah Salih³³ gave it into the custody of Mulla Luqman.

IX. بتاریخ ۲۱ دی الهی سنہ دیده شد

On 21st Dai, year 17th (A.D. 1622) examined.

X. ۳ آذر در سنہ احد عرض دیده شد

3rd Azar, year 1st (evidently of the reign of Shah 'Alam 1118 A. H. 1707 A.D.).

³¹ Ba 'ayuni, 2.100, text ; 2.97.

³² Badahah Nama of Mulla Abdul Hamid Lahori, 1.543.

³³ Maathir-i-Rohini, 3.1680.

The 'Estimate' or statement of cost of the manuscript noted below is entered at the bottom of the colophon. [This was very kindly deciphered by Khan Bahadur Prof. M. Muhammad Shafi, Panjab University, to whom we are very grateful].

الله اکبر

نوآورد

زرمقار ۴۰۲۴ روپہ

تصویرات	(۱) خط عفايت الله
۱۶۵ صفحہ	۶۵ — ۶۵
۳۶۰۲ روپہ	۳۲۵ روپہ
جلد واپرہ و دھالی	(۲) کاغذ
۳۲ روپہ	۱۴ دستچہ
	۲۴ روپہ
سولش	(۳) لوح و جدول
نقوہ فرنگ	۲۷ روپہ
۱۳ تولہ ۱۵ ماشہ	
۱۴ روپہ	۴ پوست آہر
	۱۶۵ فرد

Translation.

Allah is Great

"Estimate"

Total Cost Rupees 4,024

(a) Calligraphy by Inayat Ullah

65—۶۵

Rs. 325—

Miniature.

165 pages.

Rs. 3,602—

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (b) Paper :— | Binding, mable, paper, etc. |
| 14 Quires? | |
| Rs. 24 — | Rs. 32 — |
| (c) Opening panel and page-margins | Filings (Powder) |
| Rs. 27 — | European Silver |
| | 13 tolas, 15 mashes |
| | Rs. 14— |
| (d) Deer Skin | |
| 165 pieces. | |

The writer had the opportunity to come across two other manuscripts of the *Razm Nama* which belong to the reign of Akbar (Appendix B, Nos. 2 and 3). Perhaps they are copies of the same prepared for the nobles of Akbar's court in compliance with his command.³⁴ The first copy made by an illustrious calligraphist Mulla Pi Muhammad³⁵ son of Muhammad Hafiz, bears eighty-four full-page miniatures³⁶ and the other copy (discussed hereafter) is the one in the Baroda State Museum.

Akbar's great enthusiasm for the *Mahābhārata* does not seem to have come to an end with the preparation of these manuscripts because immediately afterwards Tahir Muhammad 'Inadu'd Din Salzwari³⁷ prepared an abridgement of this Persian version of the *Mahābhārata* in 1011 A.H. (A.D. 1602) as mentioned in the introduction (Appendix B, Nos. 13, 4. p. 4, 25.41.64.66). It also contains a Table of contents for all the 18 Parvans; The description of the manuscript (Appendix B No. 35) of the *Razm Nama* as given by the Berlin Library includes the enumeration of the slokas in each parvan which more or less agrees with that noted in the work of Tāhir Muhammad. The enumeration of slokas in the 18 parvans according to the two Persian versions of the Epic—original and abridged—side by side with that in the Sanskrit version, in the form of Appendix (B).

³⁴ Badayuni, op. cit., 2.319-21.

³⁵ Ain-i-Akbari, 101.

³⁶ Chaghatai, M. A., 'Risala Intikhab,' Chand Qutbi.

³⁷ Details of the life of Tahir Muhammad are given in his own work *Ris'latu't Tabarin*, BM. OR. 168, OR. 1762, fol. 188 b. Add. 8893; *Ath'ru s-Sanadid* of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan Insc. No. 3. On the Tomb of Amir Khusrau in which the name of Tahir Muhammad is prescribed; Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Third Session, Calcutta, Dr. Tara Chand's Presidential Address to the Mughal Period Section, 914.

Tahir Muhaimmad states in the introduction to his abridgment that he has described all these eighteen parvans along with the Harivamsa Parvan (or Khatima divided into eighteen fasls—chapters and Khatima—epilogue).

When we study the Mss. of the Razm Nama in various collections, we come across several differences and variations. Appendix C will help those who wish to make a comparative study of the Persian version. Almost each Ms. varies from the other in some respects. From the dates of their transcription hardly four of these can claim to be of Akbar's period, Nos. 23 and 41 seem to be of Shah Jahan's reign and the rest are almost of the 18th and 19th centuries.

As mentioned above, the Imperial Library Ms. of the Razm Nama, is preserved at Jaipur. It contains 165 full-page miniatures. The writer could not get the opportunity to study the original Ms., therefore the present remarks are based on HENDLEY's edition of 1884. Almost every miniature bears the names of two artists who have worked in collaboration (see Appendix C). They have tried to illustrate almost every prominent aspect of the epic.

The second contemporary Ms. is dated 1014 A.H. (1605 A.D.) (App. C, No. 2). Some years back, we saw this Ms. in the custody of a dealer who very kindly allowed us to study the Ms. and gave photographs of some miniatures. They are gratefully reproduced here (Plates I—9). Eighty-four of these miniatures are signed by the artists (as shown in App. A. 3). The face of every figure is drawn in profile which is characteristic. The figures however do not look defective from an artistic point of view (Plates I, II, IV, VIII, IX).

The third Ms. of a contemporaneous nature is in the Baroda State Museum. It is rather difficult to make sure whether the thirty-one miniatures³⁸ in the Museum representing the scenes of the Mahābhārata and framed as gallery pictures actually belong to the Persian text of the Razm Nama lying in the Museum. The only clues are the common Naskhi characters and their size. It seems that some

³⁸ Razm Nama from Akbar's Times 'Indian Art and Letters' 12.290-2. 1938. Dr. Col. Wiener gave some illustrations out of them but he could not trace that 2 vols. of the actual Ms. were already lying in the Museum as no reference is found in his note.

dealer, who had the complete copy sold out the miniatures in different lots to different customers. Fifteen of them are in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, out of which 12 belong to Sir Akbar Hydari's collection. Thirteen are with Maggs. Bros., London,³⁹ and six out of them have been reproduced in their catalogue. Similarly two are with Edward Gladstone, Ltd., London,⁴⁰ and one in the Museum of Boston. The rest may be in some other collections which we do not know. Nearly every miniature is signed by a court artist of Akbar. The Naskhi style of writing and figures in the miniatures are distinct enough to differentiate it from the above two.

Some scattered miniatures of the Razm Nama are found in the art gallery of Lahore Central Museum and are perhaps of Jahangir's period. Similarly some miniatures of a very high order are in the possession of Mr. Justice R. B. Becket,⁴¹ I.C.S. They are also of Jahangir's period as they bear the date A. H. 1025 (A.D. 1616) and the signatures of the two artists, Abdulla and Fazl, as shown in the list of artists. It seems that some Mss. of the Razm Nama were either newly prepared in Jahangir's reign or those which were already undertaken by the artists in Akbar's reign were then completed. However, it must be admitted that Jahangir's Memoirs do not refer to any work on the Razm Nama.

Akbar's personal interest in the department of painting is testified⁴² by the miniatures of the Mahābhārata and other works. The two Masters, Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrizi and Kh. Abdus Samad, were appointed to control this department which unfortunately did not retain the same efficiency after Akbar's death, because after him no such departmental collaboration is traceable in the work of the court-artist. This tradition of Mughal art was continued up to Shahjahan's period only. Then came a decline.

³⁹ Biblioteca Asiatica, No. 452, 1924. item 252, pp. 99-100 and six illustrations.

⁴⁰ An Illustrated Catalogue of Persian and Indo-Persian Works of Art, 1931, 14, items 43-44.

⁴¹ Islamic Culture, Hyderabad Deccan, 1939, 500, Proceedings of the Lahore Art Circle.

⁴² *Vide supra* Abu'l-Fazl's remarks in *Ain-i-Akbari*.

The system of collaboration and division of work organized by Akbar⁴³ as gathered from a study of the miniatures, is given below :—

طراحی	Sketching (which was generally done by the chief artist).
چهره کشانی	Drawing the faces or painting of faces.
رنگ آمیزی	Colouring.
مانند نگاری	Taking likeness.
چهره نمائی	Portrait painting or featuring.
عمل	'Work'—a compendious term.

Almost every picture bears two and occasionally three names of artists with the above assignments of work as joint-producers. A few instances are noted below

طرح تلسی عمل بندی چهره نمائی مادمو خورد ۱.

Sketch by Tulsi, work by Bandi and featuring by Madhu, the younger. [For a description of the same see Lawrence Binyon.]⁴³

عمل بشنداس چهره نمائی نانا ۲.

Bishandas made the original sketch and Nana painted the faces.⁴⁴

طرح تلسی رنگ آمیزی تلسی خورد ۳.

Tulsi made the outline and Tulsi, the younger, coloured the rest.⁴⁵

The first Tulsi here must be a different man from the second who is called Tulsi, the younger.

4. Sometimes teacher and pupil used to collaborate with each other. One such study, signed by Bihzad and corrected by his father Khwaja Abdu's-Samad,⁴⁶ is found.

عمل بهراد اصلاح خواجہ عبدالصمد

⁴³ Lawrence Binyon, *The Court Painters of the Great Mughals with Historical Introduction* by T. W. Arnold, London, 1921, Plate IX. This illustration is from the Akbar Nama in which Akbar is shown inspecting the building of the city of Fatepur Sikri, 70.

⁴⁴ Ibid., Plate IV.

⁴⁵ Razm Nama (Jeypore), Plate 13.

⁴⁶ Darab Nama, BM. Or. 6415, Fol. 103.

The list of artists will further show that Akbar had engaged artists almost from all the chief cultural centres of India such as the Gujarati and Kashmiri centres among others. The artists from Gujarat at Akbar's court had kept up their tradition of contributing something towards the art of painting. As regards Kashmir, as it is just on the border of Central Asia it could easily assimilate the influence of its Persian neighbours and could produce great masters.

In some cases we find that artists having special qualifications for the work of embellishing and decorating the margins of the large size miniatures, were appointed by Jahangir. Such a study (App. A. No. 24) is found signed by Harif and one Mulla Muhammad Amin who was in the service of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan for decorating margins,⁴⁷ while the original paintings were done by different artists.

Some new artists who came to Jahangir's court from Persia were honoured by him and given special titles for their eminence in the art of painting such as Naduu'l-Asar for Mansur and Nadir u' Zaman for Abu'l-Hasan titles which were not current in the days of Akbar. These artists collaborated with the old artists of Akbar's court. Therefore some artists of Jahangir and Shahajahan's period are also included in the list (App. A). Jahangir through these artists got special albums of miniatures prepared. Bishendans, one of the old painters of Akbar's reign who held a position of great honour at Jahangir's court was specially deputed by him to accompany Khan-i-Alam to Iran to have the portrait of Shah Abbas⁴⁸ of Persia. Mansur evidently started his career under Akbar, as one study of his in collaboration with the great master Basawan is found in Akbar Nama at the Victoria Albert Museum (App. A, No. 15) and became a great artist under Jahangir who honoured him with the title of Nadiru'l-Asr.

The list of artists appended here shows us that some signatures from the illustrations of the Razm Nama are confusing. Sometimes, the diminutives only by which these artists were better known; sometimes only a part of their names and sometimes their titles (if they

⁴⁷ Maathir-i-Rahimi, 3. 1678.

⁴⁸ Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Aligarh, p. 253.

had any) are given. Sir R. Arnold⁴⁹ has very ably studied this important question regarding :—Kesu, Ram, Tara, Riza, Khem, Farrukh, Madu, Bhura, Shankar, Qabul etc. They all appear in this list in their different forms. The following is cited here by way of illustration :—

Kesu (Kalan), the elder	} All these are shown in list No. 2.
Kesu (Khurd), the younger ..	..	..
Kesu Das ..	..	..
Kesu Gujarati ..	..	..
Kesu Kahar—a palki-bearer ..	..	..
Kesu (only)

It is here a problem as to whether they all refer to only one or many persons.

Miskin,⁵⁰ an artist, working on the Razm Nama generally signs his pictures as Miskinā. Sir T. Arnold understands from it that the termination ā shows that he was a man of low status. I, however, think that in its form it is just like the nom-de-plume of a poet with the termination ā. There are other artists such as Paras, Hari, Jaswanth, Mahesh etc. who sometimes sign as Parsā, Haria, Jaswanthā, Maheshā.

Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrazi's signature is found on two pictures of the Razm Nama (Appendix C, No. 2). One of them is reproduced here. But according to the account quoted above from the Nafasul-Matthir,⁵¹ he had taken leave for pilgrimage to Mecca between A.H. 972-979. But no contemporary authority testifies to such a pilgrimage. As miniatures bearing his signature appear on a Ms. which is dated A.H. 1014, his work on it must have begun earlier.

The signature of Mirak⁵² is found on one of the miniatures (App. A, No. 3). In the history of Persian miniature-painting one 'Mirak' enjoys a great reputation. There were many artists known by this name or diminutive in Persia but not many in India. Two of them are worthy of mention here. One was the teacher of the great Bihzad, and the other was one of his pupils. In India we have been

⁴⁹ The Library of A Chester Beatty a Catalogue of Indian Miniatures by Sir Thomas Arnold, Revised and edited by J. V. S. Wilkinson, London, 1936, 3 vols, pp. XII.

⁵⁰ *I id.*

⁵¹ *Vida urra*, Fn.

⁵² Chaghtai, M. A, Bihzad, *vide footnote*.

able to trace one Miraka Musawwar, who was also a mystic. Like others he had added this name as an alias to his full name Muhammad Afzal (Muzahhib-gilder of Samarquand).⁵³

Bihzad's name⁵⁴ appears on one of the plates of Smith's History of Fine Arts of India which shows that the 'work is done by Bihzad and corrected by Khwaja Abdu's-Samad'. The latter had two sons viz. Khwaja Muhammad Sharif and Kh. Bihzad. As noted above, it was under the supervision of Khwaja Sharif, that Akbar's copy of the Ms. of the Razm Nama was prepared and he also painted some of its miniatures. The second Bihzad who was still young was apparently learning the art of painting from his father as is manifest from the work referred to here.

The signatures of the following artists sometimes appear with the express mention of their fathers or other relations, who were also artists. It shows that their art was hereditary.

Gowardhan,⁵⁵ the son of Bhawāni Das.

Manohar,⁵⁶ the son of Basawan.

Nand,⁵⁷ the son of Ram Daa.

Ali,⁵⁸ the son of Mukhlis.

⁵³ Colophon of a Ms. of the *Kashfu'l-Mahjūb* in the State Library of Hyderabad Deccan. (Persian Mysticism, No. 398) bears a long statement by him.

⁵⁴ Smith, V. A., *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*; Oxford, 1911, p. 453. Abdul Muqaddas, Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Mss. in the Oriental Public Library at Nakipore, Patna, 1921, pp. 40-8. The Description of one unique Ms. of the *Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriyah* which is illustrated at Akbar's court by his court artists. It contains one plate No. 38 by Bihzad.

⁵⁵ A Chester Beatty, *op. cit.*, XII?

⁵⁶ The colophon of a Ms. of the *Gulstan of Sa'di* in the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 258, bears a miniature in which one artist is portraying portrait of one savant sitting before him as a model. The piece of paper in the hand of the artist bears 'work of Manohar son of Baswan and the learned man who is sitting in front of him also holds a paper on which it is written

Portrait of Hussein Zarin Raqu. This Ma. is calligraphed by Muhammad Hussein al-Kashmiri during the year 990 at the city of Fathpur.

⁵⁷ Akbar Nama, Victoria Albert Museum No 64.

⁵⁸ *Tarikh-i-Timuriyah*, *vide fn.*, plate 51.

Mukbir,⁵⁹ the son of Bichitr.

'Ābid,⁶⁰ was the b. of Abu'l-Hasan.

'Āsi,⁶¹ the brother of Miskina.

Mahābhārata explained through Pictures.—After a careful study of the Persian text of the Razm Nama and some of the Persian legends on the miniatures composed by some contemporary hand, Dr. Hendley has added brief descriptive notes under each miniature. These notes deal more with the story of the epic depicted therein than with the art of painting embodied in these miniatures. One can easily follow the original story as depicted in the Persian text through these notes which do the same service to the miniatures of other Mss. of the Razm Nama. The artist could treat a theme according to his own imagination, but the themes of these miniatures as given in Akbar's copy of the Razm Nama, could not be altered by him.

The Miniatures of Razm Nama as a Picture of Contemporary Life.—In a general sense the Mahābhārata may be called the history of the ancient kings of India, and in a particular sense, a history of the great war between two branches of one family, the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. As the court artists of Akbar were not acquainted with the conditions of the time of the Mahābhārata war, they naturally sought inspiration from their own environments and their own tradition of the art of illustration.

If painting has any value as a material for contemporary history, then the illustrations of the Razm Nama can claim to be a faithful picture of the India of Akbar's time, in many respects. Though many illustrated works were made at Akbar's court, yet not one of them was so comprehensive as the Razm Nama. Illustrated editions of other works (each of them), embodied one particular theme and most of them had non-Indian topics which naturally did not afford much scope to the vast majority of Indian artists for the representation of the India of the age. A few aspects of life as revealed in the illustrations of the Razm Nama are explained below with the help of the miniatures reproduced here.

⁵⁹ Shah Nama Windsor Castle, p. 121.

⁶⁰ Martoux et Vernet, *Miniature Persanes*, Paris 1813, p. 161.

⁶¹ Akbar Nama, *op. cit.*, vide fn. No. 62.

The love of learning among the priestly class of Indians, their dress and their mode of delivering and listening to sermons is obvious from the first and second plates. These people live like hermits in their huts in jungles. Reverence for religious teachers is shown by giving them higher seats than to their disciples.

Men and women wear their finest dresses on the occasion of marriage ceremonies and court-functions, and wear ornaments studded with jewels and pearls to keep up the traditions and dignity of their families. Every figure in Pl. III which depicts a *svayamvara* ceremony going on inside the enclosure is found wearing a necklace and a fine dress. Following the Mughal court etiquette, they use patka and kamarband or girdle. Processions which form a common feature of all ceremonies and preparations for which are shown as going on outside the enclosure, include elephants and horses gorgeously decorated with ornaments and harnesses, with their bridles held by their attendants in their own respective colours. The trumpeters who are in the forefront of the procession to proclaim victory or royal rejoicings are shown on the top of the miniature. The processions terminate with some sort of feast or refreshments (which is described elsewhere from Plate 88 of the Jaipore Razm Nama).

In Plate V we see the use of a paliki for carrying the bride, a practice of Mughal times, probably adopted by the Hindus during Akbar's time.

As regards the pastimes of the princely class of people, the artist has shown them playing at Dice in palaces, the losers being indicated below.

The battle is illustrated by Plates VI, VII, IX. Horses, elephants, bahalis and Rathes or chariots appear as the chief means of war-transport. The chariots have four wheels and the Bahalis only two. At the time of the fight, only the warrior and his driver occupy the Rath with a view (it seems) to avoid disturbance in the course of the action. The rank of the warriors is seen from their respective standards in battle-array.

As regards arms, the arrows and bows were the chief weapons of those days when the enemy was fought at a distance. The finest specimens of arrows are shown in Plate III, by the side of Arjuna during the *Svayamvara*. Princes were specially trained in archery. Many other

miniatures of the Mughal period can testify to this. In close combat, maces (Curz) or swords or daggers of varied types were employed. Plate VII depicts varieties of swords, daggers, etc. Every officer was expected to carry one dagger in his belt. It will not be out of place to mention here that Indian swords were well-known among the Arabs from early times. Many Arab poets of the early days of Islam and even before Islam, have composed verses in praise of Indian swords and arrows.

The following are some of the weapons found in the miniatures :—Maces, Ploughs, Tridents, Swords of various types, Darts, Arrows which produced fire, water, etc. and Nooses.

Plate VIIa gives us an idea of a Mughal court-scene with its etiquette, although its main theme is different. The courtiers and other attendants properly dressed occupy their seats at the court according to their rank. Any one else who had to appear at the court was also expected to be properly dressed to keep up the dignity of the court. In this Plate Gāndhārī and other ladies who are shown as addressing Bhīṣma are well dressed and wear valuable ornaments. The artist has been influenced by the atmosphere in which he himself had been brought up. It is rather the dignity of the Mughal court with its special treatment of ladies at the courts that is reflected in this figure of Gāndhārī.

In the same Plate (VIIa) in the forefront of the court, music and dance are going on. This was an important feature of the court of those days, with the Naqqār Khāna in action. Three men on the left make up this Naqqār Khāna ; one is playing on the flute, the second holds the cymbals and the third beats the drums. This Naqqār Khāna was generally placed in a canopy of the deohris (porches) which was an annexe of this court, but the artist represents it as an important feature of the court itself.

Almost every miniature reflects the dignity of the court and the distinguished position of its nobility. Shamianahs or umbrellas over the heads of the chiefs was a sign of royal dignity.

Other miniatures of these manuscripts of the Razm Nama similarly give us ample opportunity to study the Mughal customs of those days.

The Miniatures of the Razm Nama from the point of view of Art.—Unlike Western art, the oriental art of painting bears only two dimensions, and therefore raises many problems: such as the faithful expression of the artists' imagination on the surface of the paper; the depicting of the many sides of his imagination on one miniature as an independent chapter or section of the work undertaken; and the dominant presentation of central theme. In spite of these limitations we find that every picture of the Razm Nama is like a chapter of the Mahābhārata, as far as the central idea is concerned. It is often alleged that Oriental artists, particularly those of India, are incapable of keeping in view the principles of perspective and this mars the real value of the picture from an artistic point of view. But when we carefully study the miniatures of the Razm Nama, we find them quite up to the standard, although they may not appeal to modern artists. The artist covers as many aspects of one theme in one picture as he can visualise in his imagination. For instance, plate 88 in which "Yudhishtira, Krishna and Pandavas hold a great feast at Hastinapur before the horse is set at liberty", is the joint work of Daswanth and Bhura. It was natural for the artists to keep in view the Mughal palaces and their celebrations of such royal banquets. The artists first give the outside wall of the palace with a gate through which the guests have to enter. After it the interior of the palace begins where the guests assemble and the adjoining left-end of the palace is reserved for the cooks who are seriously busy in preparing the dishes. Just beyond it, table-covers are arranged whereon guests are dining in rows, just as the Musalmans do. The upper apartment on the left side of the palace are full of women having their separate dining arrangement. It is interesting to note here that guests of the two sexes are being served separately by waiters of the appropriate sex. There is the grandeur of the palace with all its architectural beauty. It will be obvious thus that the artists have covered many aspects in one miniature successfully from the perspective point of view. The same can be seen in the miniatures reproduced here. In Europe only of late one variety of perspective named "Isometric Projection" covers many aspects of the objects to be drawn. The features of the faces and the expressions of our figures also are worthy of study.

Prototypes of these Miniatures.—A casual glance at the miniatures of the Razm Nama may lead to the idea that they belong to some illustrated edition of the Shahnama of Firdousi but a little

observation reveals that they belong to some Indian epic. Here we reproduce only two miniatures, one from the Razm Nama (Plate VIIIa) and the other from the Memoirs of Babur at the Bodleian, Oxford (Fig. 2). The latter represents the rejoicings at the birth of Humayun and is drawn by some Persian artist and the former depicts the scene of the Mahābhārata in which Bhikam (Bhīṣma) is shown at the court and Gāndhārī, the mother of Duryodhana is addressing him. It is signed by Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrazi. If both these miniatures are studied side by side, they appear to be either the work of one artist or the Indian artist has followed the former, as far as the sketching and planning of the theme are concerned. The Indian artist has most successfully put on Indian attires on his figures and the influence of Mughal court-life and atmosphere is obvious. In some cases the architectural details of the building look so realistic as to reproduce the atmosphere of some Mughal monument.

The following were the symbols on the banner of some of the great chiefs⁶².

Bhima	—	A Standard with a lion on the top.
Arjuna	—	A Standard with an ape, the Hanuman.
Duryodhana	—	An elephant.
Karna	—	
Kripa	—	A bull.
Vrishasena	—	A peacock.
Madra	—	Silā.
Jarasandha	—	A bear.
Somadatta	—	The moon.
Pradyumna	—	A Crab.

Finally, we find that the Persian version of the Mahābhārata, prepared at the instance of Akbar enabled the masses to study this epic as a book of general interest. Later on other scholars tried to convert it into elegant prose or verse. One of them Hajji Rabi Anjab's is worthy of mention.⁶³ He was a native of Spain and came to India through Iran

⁶² Hendley, Introduction to the Razm Nama.

⁶³ BM. Egerton, 1036, p. 711.

after staying there for about thirty years, and made a metrical translation of the eighteen parvas of the Mahābhārata.

Apart from it, this Persian version of the Mahābhārata has been used as a source of history by historians for their accounts of ancient India, especially by those who could not utilise the original Sanskrit sources. Among these, Muhammad Qasim Firishta comes first who says in the introduction to his history⁶⁴ that he used the Persian translation of the Mahābhārata made by Akbar's command, as his source for an account of the Hindus and of ancient India. Similarly Sujan Rai did the same in his *Khulasatu'l-Tawarikh*.⁶⁵ Thus, Akbar's interest of Hindu classics gave a great impetus to the study of pure Hindu culture, through the medium of these Persian versions.

⁶⁴ (Bombay Edition), Vol. I, p. 6; Briggs's trans., Vol. I, LIII-LIV.

⁶⁵ Ed. by Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, p. 4.

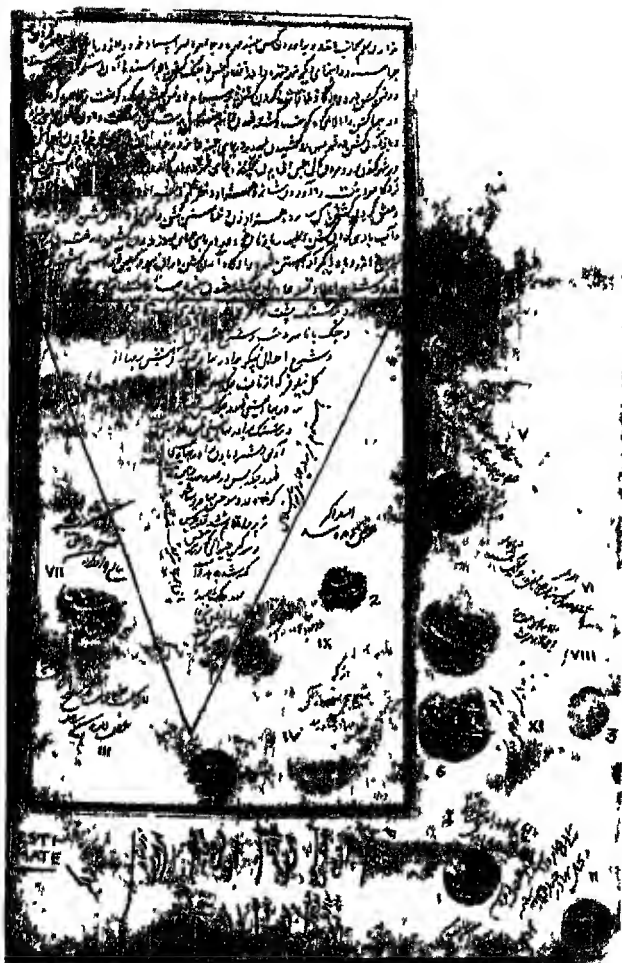


PLATE 1.



PLATE 2.



PLATE 3



PLATE 4



PLATE 6B.



PLATE 6A.

APPENDIX A

List of Mughal Miniature-Painters

Their signed miniatures are available from the following illustrated works found in various collections. The list bears their Serial 'No.' as a reference.

1. Romance of Amir Hamza.

(a) Die Indischen Miniature Das Hamzae—Romance im Osterreichischen Museum fur kunst und Industrie in Wien in Auderen Anmmlunger von Heinrich Gleek Mit einen wiederherstellung des Ramantextes, 10 farbigen 40 schwarzen Luchtdruck toften und 48 Abbildunger. Amal-Una-Verlong, Wien, 1925.

(b) Victoria Alhert Museum, Collection and others.

2. Razm Nama, Jaipore (Ms. in the List No. 1) Thomas H. HENDLEY, Memorials of the Jeypore Exhibition, 4 vols. London, 1884. Vol. IV devoted to the Razm Nama with 148 Miniatures.

3. Razm Nama, Simla (Ms. in the List No. 2).

4. Razm Nama, Baroda (Ms. in the List No. 3).

5. Razm Nama, Maggs Bros., London, Bibliotheca Asiatica, No. 452, 1924.

6. Razm Nama, Mr. Justice R. B. Becket, Lahore.

7. Razm Nama, Edwards Goldston, Ltd., London, An illustrated Catalogue of Persian and Indo Persian Works of Art, 1931.

8. *Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriyah*, Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Mss. in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, Vol. VII, (Indian History), pp. 40-48, Patna, 1921, by K. B. M. Abdul MUQTADIR.

9. *Indian Paintings under the Mughals*, Percy BROWN, Oxford 1924.

10. *Babur Nama*, Ms. B. M. ar. 3714.

11. *Babur Nama*, Albert Museum (SK.) London.
12. *Darab Nama*, Ms. B. M. or 4615.
13. *Khamsa-i-Nizami*, Dyon Perrings Collection, Paris.
14. *Baharistan* (Jami), Ms., Bodleian Library, Oxford, Elliot, 254.
15. *Akbar Nama* (only Miniatures), Victoria Albert Museum (SK.) London.
16. *Akbar Nama*, A. Chester Beatty's Collection, London.
17. *Shah Nama*, Ms. B. M. Add. 5600.
18. *Ayyār-i-Dānīsh*, Ms. A. Chester Beatty's Collection, London.
19. *Yogavasista*, Ms. A. Chester Beatty's Collection, London.
20. *Ajāibu'l-Makhluqat*, Ms. A. Chester Beatty's Collection, London.
21. *Diwan-i-Hafiz*, Ms. Ram Pur, State Library.
22. *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, Ms. B. M. Add. 18579.
23. *Indian Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museums* (SK.), London, by C. Stanley CLARK, 1922.
24. *Shah Jahan's Album*, A. Chester Beatty's Collection, London.
25. Miscellaneous.

Scattered miniatures found in the following collections with signatures of artists are arranged as below :—

- A. J. India Office Library, Johnson Collection which contains 67 books.
- B. Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- C. Marteau et Vaver, Miniature Persanes, Paris.
- D. Ghose, Ajit, Collection, Calcutta, Islamic Culture Hyderabad. 1934, pp.
- E. Bhagavata-Purana, (B.O.R.I.) Code, P. K. An Illustrated Ms. copied in A.D. 1648. New Indian Antiquary, July, 1938.
- F. Shah Nama, Windsor Castle, referred to By Sir Arnold.

- G. 'The Yasudah, (Hindi-Monthly) July 1928.
- H. Miniature Painting and Painters of Persian, India and Turkey, by F. R. Martin, London, 1912.
- I. The Collection of Bahadar Singh Singhi, Calcutta.

The Artists marked thus * are also mentioned in the following texts :—

(a) Āin-i-Akbarī, v. 1, p. 108, (Tr. Bl).

(b) Maāthir-i-Rahimi, v. iii. pp. 1681-88.

(c) Memoirs of Jahangir (Tr. by Bev & Rogers) v. I, 248.

Name.		Name.	
*Abdul Hamid	.. ....	Bandi Kalan	.. 18.
Abdul Karim	.. 24.	Banwali Kalan	.. 15.
Abdullah	.. 6, 10.	Banwali Khurd	.. 15.
Abdu'l-Salim	.. 13, 22.	Banwari	.. 2, 3, 10, 17.
'Abdu's-Samad, Sayyid	.. . .	Banwari Kalan	.. 18.
'Abid Nadrin'-Zaman	C. pl. 229.	Banwari Khurd	.. 4, 18.
Maahadi.		Baqi	.. 4.
*Ahm'l-I-Hasan	.. 22, 24.	*Basawan	.. 1, 2, 3, 8, 15.
Ahmad	.. 16.	Bhag (Pak or Phak) بهاك	.. 4, 18, 24.
Ahmad Kashmiri	.. 4.	Bhagwan	.. 2, 8, 10, 12, 20.
'Alam	.. 23.	Bhagwati	.. 17.
'Ali S. Mukhlis	.. 8.	Bhawani	.. 4, 10, 15.
Amira'l-Umara	.. B. Douce or, a I.	Bhawani Kalan	.. ....
Anand	.. 18.	Bhim Gujarati	.. 10, 13.
Anant	.. 8, 16, 18, 23.	Bhim Jao Gujarati	.. 8, 18.
Amin Chand	.. 24.	Bhoj Raj	.. A. j. 18.
Anis	.. 2.	Bhupal Singh	.. B. Douce, 3.
Anis Chela	.. 2.	Bhur	.. 8, 19.
Anup	.. ....	Bhurā	.. 8.
Anup Chatar	.. A. j. 15, 64.	Bhurah	.. 2, 8, 10, 12.
Anup Chatar Singh	.. ....	Bichitr	.. 24.
*Aqa Riza	.. 22.	*Bihzad	.. 8, 12.
Aqā Sahibz'-Zaman	.. 23.	Bilal Habshi	.. 5.
Asi	.. 8, 15, 18.	*Bishendes	.. 11, 19.
Bābū	.. 2.	Bol Chand	.. A. j. 25.
Bābū Naqqash	.. 16.	Bola	.. 17.
Bābū Usā'id	.. 14.	Bulāqi	.. 4.
Bāhen باهن	.. 4, 5.	Bulāqia. Ghulām 'Ali	.. 5.
Bakchand	.. 14, 23, 24.	Chānd Muhammad	.. A. j. 23.
Bandi	.. 15.	Chatarbhuj	.. 2, 12.

Name		Name	
Chattar Chat	B, Douce on C 4	Chur Di	22
Chitai	15	Hardeh Kashmiri	8
Chitra	15	Iajji	4
Chitarman <i>aka</i> Kalyān Dās	15; A 1 58.	Hijji Chulām Ilu an	B Ousley 171
Chitar Mūmī حیدر مومی	15	Hani	15
D I Chand	A 1, 58	Haria	22
*Daswanth	1, 2 8	*Hani Bani	12, 19
Daulat	13, 18	Harif	24
Daulat s Dāūd	6	Hasan	B Ousley Add 170
Daulat Kalan	23	Heshim	24
Deo (Dev)	8	Haslam s Yahya	5
Deoji (Devji)		Hunhar	24
Devdat	24	Husan	4, 8, 15, 22
Devji Gujarati	8, 11	Ihsan Naqqash	10
Dhanāj	10 16, 18	Husan Ustād	
Dhanū	4 8, 10, 12 18	Ibrāhim	18, 20
Dhanun	8	Ibr him Kalan	5, 10 12, 15
Dharam dās	8, 12, 13, 15, 16	Ibrahim Kashmiri	12
Dharam Dās Tunda	18	Ibrahim Lahori	12
Durgah درگاہ - درگا	11, 12, 15	Ikhli	14, 15
Faqrullah	B Ousley Add 170	*Im'd	10
Farrukh	3 8, 10, 12 15, 16	Imam Ouli	18
Farrukh Beg	15.	Iniyat	16, 19
Farrukh Chela	2 10, 12 13	Inayat Khanazad	16
*Farrukh Kalan (Qalmān)	9	*Inayatullah Siyāid	
Farrukh Khurd	12	Iqbal	2, 12
Farrukh Namī	16	Ishan ايسر	15
Fath Chand	A 1 11, 22	*Jagan	2, 8, 10, 15
Fattu	4, 5	Jagan Nath	8, 10, 15, 18
Fazl	6	Jag Jivan	2, 3, 4, 8
Firoz Sumbal	4	Jag Jivan Kalan	9
Gayān Chand	9, A 1 22	Jami	15
Ghulam	B Ousley 173	Jahel Qut	24
Ghulām Ali	2, 3	Jamshed	4, 5, 7
Ghulam Riza		Jaswanthā	2
Ghulam Ikhas	9	Jhar Mal	A 1 25
Gobind	5, 10	Kali Chela	18
Gobind Rai	A 1 25	*Kalu Bahtul	B Land on 145
Gobind (*) Shankar	9	Kālu Lahori	12
Gobind Singh	A 1, 51, 42	Kalyān Dās (Chataibhuj)	
Govardhan	9, 18.	Kamāl	8
Guleh Rai Ustād	A 1 24	Kamāl Chela	
		Kamāl Kashmiri	9
		Kantha کانھا	2, 3, 8, 12, 15, 20, 21.

Namu		Namu.	
Kank (Gang) کنگ	8	Māh Muhammad	15
Kank Singh کنگ سنگی	13	Makai	4, 18
Karam Chand	12	Makra	10
Karim Dād	18	Man من	2
Kashim Dās La ⁶	16	Manah (Manh) مانه	8
Kashmū (2)	8	Mani مانی	2
*Kesu	2, 10, 15, 19	Masud	A J 22
Kesu Das	2	Mehr Chand	9
Kesu Gujarati	18	Manohar	8, 10, 13, 15, 16
Kesu Kahan	9, 13	*Mansur (Nādiru L. ⁶ Asr)	15, 23
Kesu Kalān	9, 12, 15	Mansur Naqqash	10
Kesu Khurd	2, 9, 15, 18, 20	Mathra (Muthra)	9, 12
Khan-i-Dauman (Khanawani)	9	Matohra (Mathora) متواھرا	8
Kham	9, 14, 18	Moto Das	C
Kham Khurd	18	*Mān Nadim	
Khemon	4,	Mnak	3
Kheman Sangtash	8, 15	Mir Hasan	10
Khemkai	8	Min Hashim	24
*Khem Kani	2, 3, 10, 12, 16	Mir Muhammad	9; A J 9, 5.
Kham Kai in Samtash	15	*Mir Sayyid 'Alī Tabrezi	1, 3
Khizr	14	Min Tahawwar Khan	17
Khizi & Nāz	5	Mir Taqi (Naqi?)	16
Khumān Sangtash	9	Murzi Chulam	22
Khurān Quli	10	*Miskān (Maskan)	2, 8, 12, 15
*Khwaja Abdus-Samad	1, 14	Miskna	2, 8
Kulā Lahori	12	Miskān Muhammad	A J, 21, 58.
Lāb	2	Modi Ustad	A J 18
Lachhman	C	Mohan	22
Lachhman Singh	A J, 1	Mohan (s) Shankai	9
*Lā ⁶	2, 8, 14, 15	Mohan Singh	
Lā ⁶ Chand	24	Muhammad 'Abid	9
Lāto	2	Muhammad Afzal	
Lek Rāj (Lekh Rai)	9	Muhammad 'Ashiq	
Lohankā لوھنگا	.. 8	Muhammad Faqirullah Khan	
*Madho	3, 8, 15, 17, 22	Muhammad Kashuri	8
Madho Gujarati	4, 14	Muhammad Murād	9
Madho Kalān	.. 2, 9, 12, 15, 18.	Muhammad Nadir	9
Madho Khurd	2, 9, 12, 15	Muhammad Ruz	22.
Maharāj Kalan	9	Muhammad Sharif	2
*Mahesh	2, 10, 14, 20	Muhammad Yusuf	2
Mahesha (?)	.. 2.	*Mukand	2, 8, 13-16
Mahesh (s.) Narayan	.. 2.	Mukbir & Bacht	F.
		Mukhtā	2, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15.
		Mukhtā 'Alī	.. 8.

Name.		Name.	
Mul Chand	.. A. J. 21.	'Rām	.. 2, 9.
Mulla Shah Muhammad	.. 8.	Rām Dās	.. 2, 8, 10, 11.
Muni	.. 2, 15, 18, 20.	Rām Sahai	.. 9; A. J. 1.
Munir (?)	.. 2.	Rao Gobind Singh	.. 9, A. J. 1.
*Mushfiq	.. ....	Raziullah	.. B. Douce or a 3.
Nadir Baland Iqbal	.. 9.	Sādiq	.. 5.
Nadir Khan	.. A. J. 58.	Sahifa Bānu	.. 25.
Nadar Muhammad	.. 9.	Sahu	.. 8.
Nadiru ⁶ Z-Zaman	.. B. Douce Or 1; A. J. 67.	Sain Das	.. 14.
Nainan	.. 9.	Salman	.. ....
Nama	.. 18.	Salm Quli	.. 22.
Naman	.. 8.	Salmahana	.. 3.
Nana (Nanha)	.. ....	Samand	.. 9.
Nand	.. 18.	Sanak (Sang or Sing) سنک	.. 8.
Nand Gwahari	.. 8, 10, 13.	Sankjiv S. Surjiv Gujarati	.. 4.
Nand S. Ram Das	.. 14.	Sankran	.. 2.
Nandi S. Ram Das	.. 15.	Sanku سنکو	.. 8.
Nanha	.. 8, 12, 15.	*Sanwala	.. 2, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18.
Nanwa	.. 2.	Sarjan	.. 10, 12.
Naqqāsh	.. 8.	Sarwan	.. 8.
Narayan	.. 2, 4, 8, 10, 12, 15.	Sawan Nāmī	.. 15.
Nar Singh	.. 13, 15, 18.	Shah Muhammad (Mulla Shah Mohde).	....
Nini	.. 23.	Shaikh Sananullah	.. 17.
Odar Singh	.. A. J. 42.	Sham (Shiyam)	.. 10, 18.
Paramjiv	.. 2.	Sham Das	.. A. J. 67.
Paramjiv Gujarati	.. 8, 15.	Shankar	.. 2, 15, 16, 18.
Paras	.. 2-5, 8, 10, 12, 15, 18.	Shankar Gujarati	.. 10, 12, 18.
Paras Kahar	.. 12.	Sharif	.. 2.
Parsa	.. 2.	Sheru S. Nahir	.. 5.
Pidarath (Padarath)	.. 10, 16, 18, 22, 23.	Shihabu'd Din (Shahabdin)	.. E.
Pir Muhammad	.. A. J. 58.	Shimāl	.. 17.
Qabil	.. 4.	Shiv Das	.. 10, 12, 14, 17.
Qabul Ahmad	.. 15.	Shiv Das Nani	.. 14.
Qabul Chela	.. 15.	Shiv Raj Gujarati	.. 18.
Qasim	.. 17.	Simah Khan	.. 9.
Rahman Quli	.. 22.	Singha سنکھا (Shanka)	.. 7.
Rai Anup Chatar	.. A. J. 21.	Sital Das	.. ....
Rai Chatarman	.. A. J. 24, 50, 20.	Sukh Jiwan	.. 2.
Rai Fath Chand	.. A. J. 7.	Suleyman Kalan	.. 14.
Rai Jhat Mal	.. A. J. 22.	Sur (Sura)	.. 9.
Rai Utam Chand	.. A. J. 21.	Sur Das	.. 15, 16, 18.
Raja Manohar Singh	.. A. J. 4.	Sur Das S. Iskar	.. 7, 10.
		Sur Gujarati	.. 9, 10.
		Suraj	.. 8.

Name		Name	
Sarjan سرچن	2, 4, 8, 18.	Ihakar Rāo Singh	.. A J, 1.
Sinjiv Gujratī	. 8, 18	Thirpi (Tirpal)	.. 2, 10, 18.
Sui Sing	16	Tinyya	. 10, 12, 18, 19.
Taluk	.. 10, 12	Tulsi	2, 8, 12, 15,
Taqi (تقی)	.. 16		19.
Tāiā	2.	Tulsi Kalan	.. 9, 12, 15.
Tara Chand	. 12	Tulsi Khurd	. 10, 15.
Tara Kalan	. 15.	Utam Chand	.. A J, 25, 23
Tek Chand	. A J, 1	Ya ⁶ qub Kashmiri	.. 11.

APPENDIX B
The Index of the Persian Version

No.	Sanskrit Names of Parvas with number of Slokas*		Persian Names of Parvas (پرب) with number of Slokas		Contents : According to the abridgement of Tahir Muhammad.
			Berlin Ms.	Abrid.	
1	Adi Parva ..	8,884	آد پرب ..	آد ..	8,884 Account of the Kurus and Pandavas.
2	Sabha Parva ..	2,511	سبھا ..	سبھا ..	2,515 Jedthal's (Yudhisthira) sending his brothers in the various directions of the world for conquest; Performance of Rajasuya; Arranging an assembly of gambling
3	Vana Parva ..	11,664	بن ..	بن ..	11,364 Pandavas going into the jungle where they remained for 12 years and Account of the incidents that took place in the meantime.
4	Virata Parva ..	2,050	برات ..	برات ..	2,050 The return of the Pandavas from the jungle to the city of Barat (Virata) and hide themselves there.

1	Udyoga Parva ..	6,698	Odham	اودھم	..	6,628	Pandavas disclosing their identity and proceeding to Kurukshetra for battle and arranging arms.
2	Bhisma Parva ..	5,884	Bhikam	بھیکم	..	5,864	Battle between two parties and Bhikam's sustaining wounds and falling in the battlefield. The death of many of the sons of Dhritasthak (Dhritasthra) with an account of ten days' battle.
7	Drona Parva ..	8,909	Daruna	درؤنہ	..	8,909	On Jarjodhan (Duryodhana's) holding council, the falling down of Drona (Drona) on the 5th day. Account of other 5 days concerning Bhikam sustaining wounds.
3	Karna Parva ..	4,964	Karn	کرن	..	4,964	Account of two other days' fighting and the death of Karn, one of the illustrious men of his time and distinguished for his physical and mental qualities. Account of Karn's fighting and the fight of Jakkhal before him and his being killed by Arjun.

* These numbers are taken from the southern Edition of the MB. which are not generally accepted.

APPENDIX B—contd.

No.	Sanskrit Names of Parvas with number of Slokas		Parvan Names of Parvas (پاروے) with number of Slokas		Abnd.	Contents :
			Berlin Ms.			
9	Salya Parva ..	3,220	سال	3,208 | Shal	شل	Account of Shal and other warriors being hanged, 90 persons killed. Duryodhan's hiding and his brothers being killed by mace in the battle which lasted for 18 days.
10	Saṃvit Parva ..	870	سوپت	880 | Salok	سالوک	Night attack led by Kari Barmha (Kari Varman). Ashvini (Aśvathama), Kariya (Kripa), etc. on the army of Pandavas had returned safe from the battlefield to their place.
1	Sri Parva ..	775	استری	775 | Astari	استری	Weeping of the women on both sides, Gandhari, the mother of Duryodhan cursing Krishna.
2	Santi Parva ..	14,725	سانت	19,374 | Sant	سانت	After the victory Jishnu waited to renounce the world and its comforts Krishna urges him with convincing

3	Anusana ..	8,000	Bhikam's advice نصائح بهیکم	..	Anusana انوسانا	8,000	Bhikam's alms and charities.	arguments in the company of Bhikam who was still alive and Jodhall listening attentively to the words of advice and admonitions.
4	Asramaditika ..	3,320	Asram اسرم	3,308	Asram اسرم	3,320	An account of sacrifice of Asram when Bhikam after the completion of admonitions re-nounces the faithless world Jodhall on seeing the condition wanted to follow the path of renunciation Vayna uttered good words about supremacy and urged Yudhishtar and for the sake of the satisfaction of the heart of Yudhishtar he ordered a sacrifice.	
5	Asramavastika ..	1,506	Asram اسرم	300	Bayas Asram بیاس اسرم	500	Renunciation of Dhrasht, Candhari, the mother of Jodishan, Kunti, the mother of Jodishar and their going to the jungle in the region of Kurukshetra where Vayna lived and Pandava followed to see them.	

* These numbers are taken from the southern Edition of the MB, which are not generally accepted.

APPENDIX B—*contd.*

Sanskrit Names of Puranas with number of Slokas*	Persian Names of Puranas (تورب) with number of Slokas			Contents : According to the abridgement of Tahir Muhammad.
	Bertin Ms.	Abrid.		
Isanala Purva ..	320 Mosal ..	300 مومل ..	300	Account of Jatwan (Baktem) and Krishan and dying in miserable circumstances and other incidents
Isanapresthanika ..	320 Jan ..	360 جان ..	320	Jachshar's and his brother's renunciation of the world and entrusting the kingdom to people and their departure to the Himalaya or ice hills.
vargachhana ..	207 Sarkavahan ..	200 سرکاروہن ..	200	Pardava's resigning the souls to the above-mentioned mountain and the physical ascension of Yudisthira to the higher world
....	Khatuma Harban ..	Khatuma Harban or Acharya خانم		The account of Jatwan's (Bakavaas)

*These numbers are taken from the southern Edition of the MB, which are not generally accepted

APPENDIX C.

Statement showing the contents of Persian Manuscripts of the Razm Nama (Mahabharata) in various Collections
 *For miniatures and their artists see Appendix C

2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Date A.D.		Place where exists.	Owner.	List No.	Folios.	Dimen- sions.	Line in each page.	No. of Mini- atures*.	Script.	Name of Scribe	Place where prepared.	Remarks.
004	1595	Jaipore	Pothi Khana	..	..	..	..	165	Nast ..	Sharif ..	....	Complete.
1014	1605	Siraha	A Dealer	..	..	15" X 10"	..	84	Do.	Pir Muhammad son of Muhammad mad Hafiz.	....	Complete in 3 volumes.
1014	1605	Baroda	State Museum.	..	pp.474 pp.877	12" X 7"	27	31	Nasbki	....	....	I, II, III, parvans in two volumes.
1087	1998	Paris	Bibl. Nation- ale.	218	733	38" X 23" cm.	..	..	Nast ..	....	....	Complete.

APPENDIX C—contd.

2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	Date A.D.	Place where exists,	Owner.	List No.	Folios.	Dimensions.	Line in each page.	No. of Miniatures.	Script.	Name of Scribe.	Place where prepared.	Remarks.
1107	1695	London	British Museum.	Add. 5641 5642	370 481	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	27	128	Nasbhi	....	....	Complete, gold-ruled margins. At the end it is stated that it was compiled by Besant Rai, son of Kasi Rai, son of Raimae, a Kayasth in the service of Shaitan Khan, in the 31st year of Aurangzeb's reign i.e. A.H. 1098. It contains complete Index.
1177	1763	Do.	Do.	Add. 5638-40	413 371 440	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	22	68 36 30	Nast ..	Mu h a m a d Munadabad. Khan.	Complete in 3 volumes	
1218-19	C1803-4	Do.	Do.	Add. 16820	283	19" \times 18"	29	..	Shik	....	..	Complete in one volume.

..	1800	Do.	..	Do.	..	Add. 80 16873	10" x 6½"	12	..	Nast	....	....	IV (parvan). It is a different version and much fuller.
..	1798	Do.	..	Do.	..	Add. 206 7036	12½" x 7"	..	..	....	....	....	These are N B Halbed's marginal notes on the MB. with some extracts in Persian.
1175	1761	Do.	..	Do.	..	Or. 5461	9½" x 6"	18	..	Nasthi	Wainlab	.. Sambhal	XIV (parvan)
1234	1876	Do.	..	Do.	..	Or. 1863	20-34	9½" x 6"	18	..	Nast	....	Only the story of Raja Jauame-joye, from the translation of the MB (Fazl)
..	1850	Do.	..	Do.	..	Or. 2014	112-118	10½" x 6½"	15	..	Nast	....	Abstract of the III parvan.
1136	1724	Do.	..	Do.	..	Or. 2016	26-123	10½" x 7½"	27	..	Shik	....	Abridgement of the Persian version of the MB by Tahir Muhammad B. Inādu'd-Din Sabzwān.
1045-6	1635-6	Do.	..	Do.	..	Or. 168	467-523	11½" x 8"	21	..	Nast	....	Do.
1101	..	Oxford	..	Bodleian Library.	..	1306	372, 189	12" x 7½"	19-23	..	Nast, Shik.	Sadrabad	Complete in four Volumes. All bear varied dates.
							151, 222					Qasur (Lahore)	

APPENDIX C-contd.

2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Date	A.D.	Place where exists.	Owner.	List No.	Folios.	Dimensions.	Line in each page.	No. of Minia- tures.	Script.	Name of Scribe.	Place where prepared.	Remarks.
1221	1806	Oxford	Boylean Library.	1307	810	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	23	..	Nast and Shik.	Perrap Rai	..	Complete in 7 vols. All bear varied dates.
1173	1759	Do.	Do.	1308	705	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	11	..	..	....	..	I-IV, XII; XIII-XVIII (parvas) in four vols.
..	..	Do.	Do.	1309	383	7" x 4" 11-13	..	..	..	....	..	I (parva) with preface.
1139	1726	Do.	Do.	1310	208	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	13-17	..	..	....	..	I (parva).
..	..	Do.	Do.	1311	112	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	13-17	..	..	....	..	Abu'l Fazl's intro only but different from the usual one.
1138	1726	Do.	Do.	1312	173-231	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	13-17	..	..	....	Ahmed-abad.	II (parva).

1041	..	Do.	Do.	1313	120 95"	52"	16	..	I (pa va) with Faizi's story verses in the beginning
1632	Do.	Do.	Do.	1314	172 10"	22"	15	..	V (parva) entitled "The prose trans.
1220	..	Do.	Do.	2407	115 10"	75	18-23	..	I (parva) with preface.
..	..	Do.	Do.	2408	352 112"	74"	14-24	Shuk	Abridgement by Tahir Muhammad but defective and badly transcribed.
..	17th Cent.	Pars	B. N.	219	783 36 23	cms.	..	Nast.	Complete.
..	Do.	Do.	Do.	220	36 26 20	cm.	..	"	III (parva).
..	18th Cent.	Do.	Do.	229	31" x 20"	..	..	..	XVI (parva).
..	Do.	Do.	Do.	1939	46 21" x 12"	..	..	..	I, II (parva) with preface.
..	..	Cambridge	Univ. Library	1147- 1150	124 23-9 (2) 15 2c	..	15	Tahq	IV, XII-XIII, XV-XVIII (parva) in 4 vols.
..	..	Do.	Do.	XXXVII	98 24-3 14-5c	..	15	..	IV (parva).

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Sl. No.	Date A.D.		Place where exists.	Owner.	List No.	Folios.	Dimensions.	Line in each page.	No. of Miniatures.	Script.	Name of Scribe.	Place where prepared.	Remarks.
2	..	..	Cambridge	Univ. Library	XXXVII-XXXVIII	200/272	16 2/2	15	..	Taliq.	....	..	12 (parans).
3	..	19th Cent.	Patna	Oriental Library.	1448	432	10 1/2 x 5 1/2 14 " x 9 "	21	..	"	...	..	First nine parans with preface.
4	..	..	Do.	Do.	1449	452	13 1/2 x 7 1/2 10 " x 5 "	23	..	Flower.	....	..	A different version from the above.
5	1151	1738	Lahore	Punjab Univ. Library.	A.Pc. 111 40	352	15 1/2 x 10 1/2	33	..	Nast.	..	..	Complete.
6	1197-98	1782-84	Berlin	Konglichen	1079	1030	30 5/8 x 20 c.m.	11	..	..	Kahaji Mal	Muradabad.	Do.
7	1099	1687	Calcutta	R. A. Society of Bengal.	1695	..	..	17	..	..	....	Patna	Complete in 2 vols.

38	1213	1798	Do.	Do.	1696	625	..	16	..	Mohammad Munir Din Buhārī	..	D
39	1138	1725	Do.	Do.	1697	115	..	15	..	..	..	..
40	19085	..	Do.	Do.	627	573	..	5	..	..	..	..
41	1048 or 1078(2)	1638 1667	Poona	M. A. Chaghai hatal.	..	89 112	62	7	..	..	..	..
42	..	..	Hyderabad Dn.	State Library	286 (H.P.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
43	..	..	Do.	Do.	1747 (H.P.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
44	..	..	Do.	Do.	1515 (H.P.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45	1184- 87	1770- 73	London	India Office	1928	1706 11½"	6"	19	..	Nashin	..	..
46	1188	1774	Do.	Do.	1929	714 162"	10½"	27	..	Nashin	..	..
47	..	..	Do.	Do.	1930	396 19½"	12½"	29	..	Shahk Babullah and Faidullah Munshi. M u h a m m a d Amin Ber.	..	..

Complete m + vol.

Complete as No. 5.

Complete.

APPENDIX C—contd.

Sl. No.	Date	A.D.	Place where exists.	Owner	List No.	Folios	Dimensions	Line in each page	No of Manuscripts	Script	Name of Scribe	Place where prepared	Remarks
48	1155	1742	London	India Office	1931	384 16 ¹ / ₂	5 ¹ / ₂			Shik			Chapter I-VII with preface
49	1140	1728	Do	Do	1932	556 10 ¹ / ₂	6	17		Nast			I-V (parvans) with preface
50	1150	1737	Do	Do	1933	400 11 ¹ / ₂	6 ¹ / ₂	17		Nast and Shik			I-IV (parvans) with preface
51	-	-	Do	Do	1934	323 15	9	21	21	Nast			A different trans- (parvans) a. No 8
52	1129	1717	Do	Do	1935	275 12 ¹ / ₂	8	1 ¹ / ₂					I-III (parvans) with preface
53	-	-	Do	Do	1936	235 15	5	17					Defective
54	1098	1687	Do	Do	1937	154 13	5	21-10			Shik Rai		I-II (parvans) with preface

APPENDIX C—contd

2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Date	A.D.	Place where exists	Owner	List No.	Folio	Dimensions	Line in each page	No. of Mani- fests	Script	Name of Scribe	Place where prepared	Remarks
1242	1826	London	India Office	1948	63	7 1/2 x 5 1/2	11		Nast & Shik			An abstract without author's name
1173	1759	Do	Do	1955	118	11 x 6	19-23					Abridgement of Tahir Muhammed First part is abstract from Bhavavata
1136	1723	Do	Do	1951	186	12 8 1/2	17		Nast	Kashan chand son of Ram Chand	Ahmed abad	Haavavata it differs
		Do	Do	2918	17-376	11 x 6	19					I-II (partly)
		Do	Do	2919	157	9 2 1/2	15					III (partly) not complete

70	1105	1693	Do.	Do.	2920	183 19 ² 6 ¹ / ₂	21	Nt Sh.	....	V-XI (parvans) No. 57.
71	1132	1719	Do.	Do.	2921	260 10 ² 5	21		....	XIII-XV (parvans).
72	1147	1734	Do.	Do.	2922	98 6 ¹ / ₂ 3 ¹ / ₂ 12-13		Nast	....	Fauz II.
73	1222	1807	Do.	Do.	2923	1-134-94" x 53" 19-21 ¹ / ₂		Shuk	....	V-XVIII (parvans) is another trans. It is stated on the fly leaf to be that of Fauz, but the absence of any poetical pieces like these found in the beginning of I as well as of II in the authentic version of Fauz (No. 72) Besides it is very doubtful whether Fauz has written more than the first two parvans No. 74 only IV parvans of this trans.
74	1179	1766	Do.	Do.	2924	1-16 11 ² / ₂ 6 ¹ / ₂	21	"	....	XIV (parvan).
75	1175	1761	Do.	British Museum.	Or 5461	161 91" x 6"	18	Nast	....	I-V prepared in the period of Nawab Yusuf Ali Khan. Rampur.
76	1267-72	1851-55	Rampur	State Library	417	519 94" x 74"	21	"	Chans and his father Shantar Lal	
77			Do.	Do.	416	232 121" x 94"	21	"	....	I-VII (parvans) with preface except III.

APPENDIX C—*concl'd.*

2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Date	A.D.	Place where exists.	Owner.	Last No.	Folia.	Dimen- sions.	Line in each forest.	No. of Minia- tures.	Script.	Name of Scribe	Place where prepared.	Remarks.
3	1169-1253	1775-1837 Rampur	State Library	419	241	10" x 7"	15-17	..	Nast	Khan Raj son of Rampur . Lakh Raj.		VII-XI (parvans).
9	1278	1868 Do.	Do.	421	39	9½" x 7½"	21	..	..	Channu Ram	Do.	XII (parvan).
10	..	Do.	Do.	420	297	9½" x 6"	15	..	..	....	..	I-VII (parvans).
31	..	Do.	Do.	422	230	9½" x 6"	15	..	..	..	..	I-XIII (parvans)*
32	1848 Cent.	Do.	Do.	630	369	13½" x 8½"	25	24	..	..	..	I-IX (parvans) with crease.
83	1106	1694 Do.	Do.	423	430	12" x 8"	19	..	..	Shanhar Lal	..	XIII-XV III (parvans)
84	1232	1817 Poona	D.C.R.I.	13	244	10" x 5½"	11-17	Ord.Nt.	..	..	..	Fauzi's I.

* The writer feels his duty to express his sincere gratitude to the following persons for supplying particulars of the MSS. of the Razm Nama in their charge and some information from the catalogues of foreign collections which were not available here:—Khan Bahadur Maub, Muhammad Shafi, Chairman, Punjab University Library, Lahore; Mr. S. S. Seth, Librarian, Punjab University Library; Prof. Muhammad Iqbal, Oriental College, Lahore; Maulana Imtiyaz Ali Khan, Asst. Superintendent State Library, Ram Pur; The Curator, State Museum and Picture Gallery, Benares.

List of Books translated into Persian from Sanskrit at Akbar's Court.

1. Atharbed by Badāyūnī and others.
 2. Bhagwad Gītā by Faizi and other, *Ain-i-Akbarī*, 103-5.
 3. Gangadhar by Abu'l Fazl (ib).
 4. Harivamśa by Maulana Sheri (ib).
 5. Jog-Bashishta translated in A.H. 1002 [1598 A. D.] by one Maulana Faramulī ; a native of Faraniul near Kabul. It was illustrated by court Artists of Akbar. This original Ms. with illustrations is with Mr. A. C. Beatty.
 6. Katha Sarit Segara, Badāyūnī, II, 401-2.
 7. Kishen Joshi by Abu'l-Fazl, op. cit.
 8. Lilavati by Faizi. AA. op. cit. 103-5.
 9. Mahābhārata, described above.
 10. Mahesh Mohanand by Abu'l-Fazl, AA. op. cit. 103-5.
 11. Nal Daman by Faizi, *Ibid*.
 12. Singhāsana Battisi by Badayuni, II (Trans.) 186 ; and it was called *Nama-i-Khird Afzū*.
 13. Rāmāyana by Badayuni and others, II (Trans.) 378.
- Col. H. B. Hanna claimed to possess Akbar's copy of the Rāmāyana with 129 full page illustrations signed by the artists Catalogue of Indo-Persian Pictures and Mss. collected by Col. H. B. Hanna, 27, London, 1890 cited by Mr. Wilkinson in his 'the Library of Chester Beatty a Catalogue, XXVII.
- Mulla Masih of Panipat had made a poetical version of the Rāmāyana during Jahangir's reign. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Calcutta, 1939, 914, 1662. ' Presidential Address ' of Dr. Tara Chand to the Mughal Section.
14. Tajak on Astronomy by Muhammad Khan of Gujarat, *Ain*, 103-5.
 15. Treatise of Elephants by Mulla Sheri, *Darbar Akbari*, 5th ed. Lahore, 1939, 770.